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THE CALVERT PAPERS

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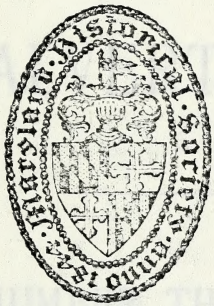

COMPRISING

"A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE VNTO MARYLAND"

AND OTHER PAPERS.

Baltimore, 1899.

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THE CALVERT PAPERS.

NUMBER THREE.

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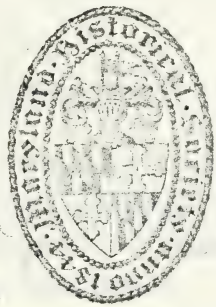

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THE CALVERT PAPERS.

During the year 1894 the Maryland Historical Society acquired, from a most unexpected source, several documents which constitute a very valuable addition to the collection of Calvert Papers already in the Society's possession. These papers were procured for the Society chiefly through the agency of Mr. Mendes Cohen, Chairman of the Library Committee, and the story of their acquisition, with a brief synopsis of their contents, is told by him as follows in a note which he prepared at the request of the Committee on Publication:—

"It was in May, 1894, that I received a letter from Mr. John Roland Phillips, dated Lincoln, Nebraska, advising me that he had in his possession several old and rare documents relating to the earliest settlement of Maryland, which he would be glad to dispose of.

"A correspondence ensued which developed the fact that the papers came to Mr. Phillips' possession from his father who died in 1887.

"The elder Phillips was the author of a work entitled, 'Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches, 1642–1649, by John Roland Phillips of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, in two volumes, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1874.' This we have on our shelves.

"In the preparation of this work the author collected a considerable mass of papers bearing on the subject of his investigations, among which these appear to have been preserved because of their particularly interesting character. Whence the papers were obtained by his father the present Mr. Phillips does not know. They were, at my request, sent to us for examination, and their value as genuine originals being readily recognized by our experts, they were purchased by the Society and form a most interesting series, illustrating transactions immediately preceding the embarkation at London, the events of the voyage over and the occurrences of the short interval between the arrival in Maryland and the despatch of the ship 'Ark' on its return to London.

"The papers embrace—

"1. Articles of Agreement made 7th October, 1633, between Leonard Calvert of London, Esquire, on the one part, and Sir Richard Lechford of Shellwood, in the County of Surrey, Knight, of the other part, which agreement witnesses that the parties have entered into a partnership to adventure a sum of money upon a voyage to be made by 'Leonard Caluert & others into the Province of Maryland in the parts of America.'

"2. A Deed on parchment, dated 15th October, 1633, signed by Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, and bearing his seal, which conveys to Leonard Calvert 'One Eighth part of All that Barke or Vessell called the Dove of Maryland of the burthen of ffortie Tunne or thereabouts now remayning and being in the River of Thames London.'

"3. A bond from Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, dated 19th October, 1633, in relation to the partnership agreements.

"4. A letter of advice from Leonard Calvert dated 'from Jamestown in Virginia this 18th of March, 1634,' to Sir Richard Lechford, advising of three bills of exchange 'consigned to you' the same date.

"5. A letter from Leonard Calvert, written by a clerical hand, covering four pages of full sheet, addressed 'Kinde Partner' dated from Point Comfort, 30th of May, 1634, in which he describes somewhat briefly the voyage over, and then enters into details of their joint business in pelts. He tells him that a party he sent out in a small boat gave on his return a full account of their transactions 'all in writinge, a copy whereof I haue herewith sent you; and likewise a more exact (journal / recital) of all our voyage then I could finde time to deliuer unto you in this letter, in respect of my much other businesse about the (starting / despatching) of the Ship homeward, and other affaires of the Colonie: This I haue sent you was writ by a most honest and discreet gentleman, wherefore you may be confident of the truth of it.' This letter is signed

'Your affectionate ffriend
and seruant
Leonard Caluert.'

"It is not thought to be in Calvert's own handwriting though the signature is his.

"6. A letter of one page in Leonard Calvert's own hand and signed by him, dated like the last from Point Comfort, the 30th of May, 1634, which commences:

"'After I had finnished my first letter unto you this occasioned happened wch is this, I haue bought of a aduenturer that came forth wth vs this voyage, his whole share in trade,' &c. It is in fact a postscript covering one page on separate

full sheet, to the letter described as No. 5, and details business transactions.

"7. This is the narrative referred to in No. 5, written in the close and very minute clerical hand of the period, on all the pages of two sheets and one-fourth of the page of a half sheet. It is headed, 'A briefe relation of the voyage vnto Maryland' and commences:

"'On St Cecilias day, the 22 of November 1633 with a gentle Northerne gale,' &c. It concludes with the pious words 'Laus Deo.'

In this document we have an original narrative of the voyage over authenticated by Leonard Calvert himself, and sent to England on the return of the 'Ark' which brought over himself and fellow-colonists.

"8. This is a letter from Sir Richard Lechford to Leonard Calvert, dated 'July this 24th day, 1634,' in which Lechford says: 'I received yor ltres (about the midle of July and apphend very well of our adventures in Mary-land).' He acknowledges the 'diverse bills of exchange comended vnto my hand by you.' Tells Calvert 'how vnhappily matters stand wth me. first my children the beginnge of March was goinge beyond the Seas for Nuns. Apphended; and examined. wherevpon I was called before the Counsell Board, questioned about my religion, comitted vnto the fleete my place at court taken imediatly from me, and there remayned 9 weekes.' He goes on to tell Calvert why the bills have not been honored, and the furs not yet sold—the 'prices are so low not aboue 12^d per pound that as yet wilbe giuen.' He does not refer to the narrative which Calvert had sent him. The letter is particularly interesting as illustrating the persecutions then practised against the Catholics.

"9. This is a letter from Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, dated 'from Virginia this 6th of May, 1638.' It is addressed 'Worthy Sr.—I received your letter dated the sixth of May, 1638 from London Wherein you gave me to understand how much you are discouraged from venturing any farther in these parts by the ill success of what you have formerly adventured.'

"Calvert goes on to express regret that he should have 'been the steward of what you have received so little' and continues stating that he himself has fared as badly. This concluded the series.

"The recovery of these papers is even more remarkable than that of other Calvert Papers obtained by the Society a few years since; and in connection with the latter the historian of Maryland is enabled to have before him a narrative of events immediately preceding the departure of the Colonists, the instructions of the Proprietary to them, the record of the voyage over with its attending incidents, the landing in Maryland of the Colonists, their hospitable reception by the natives, the location of the site for a settlement, and the conditions for trade then prevailing, all authenticated in such a way as can rarely happen with documents of so much interest which have been for more than two hundred and fifty years without the care of an official guardian."

In the following publication are contained all of the papers enumerated in Mr. Cohen's note, except those designated by him as Nos. 4 and 9. These are merely communications made in the ordinary course of business, and are without special historic value.

In the articles of co-partnership between Leonard Calvert, Esq., and Sir Richard Lechford (No. 1), it appears that the

former was interested to the extent of three-fourths in the joint venture. The papers numbered 2 and 3 are sufficiently explained in Mr. Cohen's note, and require no further comment. No. 6 is printed as being practically a postscript to No. 5 and a part thereof. It is valuable chiefly for the reason that not only the signature but the entire paper is in Leonard Calvert's own handwriting.

The letter from Sir Richard Lechford to Leonard Calvert (No. 8), dated July 24, 1634, is included in this publication as containing an interesting and contemporary story of the hardships and difficulties to which members of the Roman Catholic communion were at that time subjected.

The most important paper, and the most interesting, from a historic point of view, among those received from Mr. Phillips, is the one numbered 7, and headed "A briefe relation of the voyage vnto Maryland," evidently the narrative of the voyage which was referred to in the letter from Leonard Calvert to his partner in business, dated the 30th of May, 1634, and apparently enclosed therewith.

This narrative, written in English, is a practical duplicate of the "Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam," known as Father White's Narrative, the Latin text of which, together with an English translation edited by Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, was published by the Society in 1874 as Fund Publication, No. 7.[1]

The acquisition of the English version has naturally led to an enquiry as to which version, the English or the Latin, is to be regarded as the original, and to whom is the authorship to be ascribed.

[1] A translation had previously been made in 1847 by the late Nathan C. Brooks, LL. D., a former member of the Maryland Historical Society, which was subsequently published in Peter Force's collection of Historical Tracts, Vol. IV, No. 12.

The English version is evidently an original letter, and not a translation from the Latin. It differs in some respects from the Latin narrative, but the two accounts are substantially the same.

In the preface to the Society's publication already referred to, it is stated that about the year 1832, Father William McSherry, S. J., discovered in the archives of the "Domus Professa" of the Society in Rome, the originals of the MSS. named on the title page, copies of which he placed in the Library of Georgetown College, D. C., and a second copy of which was presented to this Society in 1844, the year of its organization. The Society's copy of this valuable narrative disappeared in some unexplained way, from its library, and when reference was made to the Georgetown copy, it was found that a portion of that also was lacking.

On page 43 of the Society's publication, it is noted that there is no subscription to the extracts made by Father William McSherry, but that it was certain that the letter was written from the colony in the latter part of April, 1634, as the concluding paragraph contains the words, *Uno tantum mense hic fuimus* (we have been here only one month).

In view of the absence of positive proof, the Committee on Publication thought it desirable to ascertain, if possible, upon what evidence the authorship of the narrative had been ascribed to Father White, and to that end corresponded with Revd. Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., who is engaged in preparing a history of the Jesuit Missions in America, and with whom the Committee was placed in correspondence through the courtesy of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons.

The Committee concludes from Father Hughes' notes[1] that the only version of the *Relatio* which he has found among the

[1] See Appendix A, p. 49.

archives of the Society of Jesus, is a copy, which he attributes to the third or fourth decade of the present century, and it is not unlikely that from this copy Father McSherry's MS., made in 1832, was taken. There seems to be no authentic certification that Father White was the author of the *Relatio.* Leonard Calvert in his letter enclosing the English version, says only that it was written by "a most honest and discreet gentleman."

We are thrown, therefore, so far as proof is concerned, upon internal evidence and probability.

As Father White was the senior priest or superior of those who accompanied the Maryland colonists, the presumption is strong that any report made to the ecclesiastical superiors of the mission, would be made, if not by his hand, at least by his authority. And it is not unlikely that he would make two reports, one in Latin to his superiors at Rome, and one in English to those persons in England who had authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, over the colony.

Expressions in the Latin text clearly indicate that that narrative was addressed to an ecclesiastical superior; *e. g.* when speaking of the pine-apple,[1] the writer says, "Optabam me nucem unam *Paternitati vestræ* cum hisce litteris tradere potuisse in manus."

The English version contains, equally with the Latin, a number of expressions that would indicate that its author was an ecclesiastic. For instance, speaking of the landing at Heron's Island (to which the name of St. Clement's was given), the narrative tells (p. 39), "in this place on our b: Ladies day in lent we first offered, erected a crosse, and with devotion tooke solemne possession of the Country."

[1] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 27.

And again, speaking of the Indian houses of which possession had been obtained, the writer says (p. 43), "In one of these houses we now doe celebrate, haveing it dressed a little better then by the Indians, till we get a better, which shall be shortly as may be."

In the first reference to the celebration of the Mass, the account is somewhat fuller in the Latin version,[1] and in mentioning the Indian house which had been assigned to the writer and his associates ("Mihi et Sociis"),[2] the words are added, "Illam primum Marylandiæ sacellum dixeris."

The divergences or discrepancies between the Latin and the English text, are neither important nor numerous. In some particulars one will be found a little fuller in expression, and in others more condensed. In the Latin text the religious expressions, such as pious acknowledgments of divine protection, are more frequent than in the other, but that would be natural if, as has been suggested, it were written by a clergyman to his ecclesiastical superior, while the other was prepared for the information of the Lord Proprietary and founder of the colony, or the business correspondent and partner of the Governor.

It is to be noted, too, that the English narrative is much more full than the Latin text in the account given of the nature of the soil, the character of the products, etc., particulars which would naturally be dwelt upon in an account intended for the Lord Proprietary or others pecuniarily interested in the success of the colony.

The two accounts, if not written by the same hand, were evidently drawn from the same source or narrative, and a

[1] Fund Publication, No. 7, pp. 32–3.

[2] Ibid., p. 39.

not unreasonable theory would be that there was kept during the voyage, for the use of the Governor and the Lord Proprietary, a careful official journal of events, and that from this journal both these letters were framed by Father White, who would not unlikely be himself the writer of the journal; and that in preparing his letters he expanded or condensed the narrative as seemed appropriate for the purposes for which they were respectively intended. Upon this theory each version would have equal claim to be regarded as an original, with this advantage of the English text, that in it we have the original manuscript, whereas the other is only known to us through copies. Some of the discrepancies as to numbers, distances, Indian names, and the like, are no doubt due to errors of the copyists of the Latin text.

Governor Calvert mentions the author of the narrative merely as being a "most honest and discreet gentleman."[1] Lest this description should be thought somewhat different from what would be naturally used in designating an ecclesiastic, it may be worth while to note that in ancient use the word "discreet" was often employed to express dignity, and the term "discreet person" was especially applied to ecclesiastics in reference to their character as counsellors and confidential advisers. (*Oxford Dictionary, ad locum.*)

The conclusion seems to be warranted that both texts may be reasonably ascribed to Father White, and that in the particulars wherein they differ, the English version is entitled to the greater weight as being an original manuscript.

Many of the discrepancies between the two versions are too insignificant to be worthy of mention, but some few noted below may be considered as justifying comment. The comparison is made with the Latin text as printed in Fund Publication, No. 7.

[1] P. 23.

The name of the solemn fast (Solemne jejunium) for the observance of which the Turkish pirates had gone home, is left blank in the Latin text, the MS. being apparently defective.[1] The name as supplied by the English version (p. 29, where it is called a "great *feast*"), is "Tamisom."[2]

There are apparently wide discrepancies in the prices named for provisions at the Barbadoes (p. 32),[3] but these may be partly due to the different currencies in which they are expressed.

The statement of the Latin text[4] that some English *interpreters* had been made away with by the cannibal inhabitants of Matalina, while the English text gives *enterprisers*, (p. 37), is evidently due to an error of the copyist of the Latin text.

The difference in statement in respect to the display of signals or ensigns demanded by the savages, as described in the English text (p. 37), and in the *translation* of the Latin text,[5] is due to an obvious error in translation.

The English version gives the distance of the settlement at St. Mary's as half a mile from the river bank (p. 41, cf. p. 21). Dr. Dalrymple's translation says,[6] "about a mile," but this is a very free, or else too classical a rendering; the Latin text has it "mille passus," closely corresponding, according to modern usage, with the distance as stated in the English version.[7]

[1] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 18.

[2] In Father Hughes' notes, Appendix B (p. 57), it is given as *Jsom;*—the last two syllables only of the word contained in the English text.

[3] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 23. [4] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 28.

[5] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 28. [6] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 36.

[7] In classic Latin "mille passus" would be properly taken as equivalent to "a mile;" but at the date of this letter a distance of "a thousand (English) *paces*" was evidently meant, or 2500 feet. A half-mile contains 2640 feet. "The pace of a single step (the military pace) is estimated

The name spelled "Patuxan" in the English version (p. 44), (now familiar as "Patuxent"), appears in the Latin as Barcluxem or Barchuxem,[1] probably an error of the copyist for *Barduxem*, which corresponds in sound sufficiently with the word as spelled in the English text.

In the appendix to Dr. Dalrymple's translation, there is a list[2] of doubtful readings of the text which he had followed. Revd. Father Hughes, to whose courtesy reference has already been made, kindly compared each of these with the Latin text to which he had access, and has furnished the Society with the corrections thence derived. He also sent a list of the Jesuit Missionaries stationed in Maryland during different years, from 1634 to 1648, together with some interesting memoranda concerning them. Notes furnished by Father Hughes are, by his permission, printed as appendices to this publication.

In printing the papers contained in this Publication, it has been sought to preserve the exact spelling of the originals, and adequately to represent abbreviations. One abbreviation, of frequent occurrence, representing the syllables "per," "pre," "pro," etc., it has been found impossible to reproduce in type, so the character "p̄" has been adopted as its representative.

C. C. H.

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at 2½ feet. The Ancient Roman pace, considered as the thousandth part of a mile, was 5 Roman feet." (*Century Dictionary, ad locum.*)

[1] Appendix B, p. 58, and Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 41.

[2] Fund Publication, No. 7, p. 101 et seq.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT MADE 7TH OCTOBER, 1633, BETWEEN LEONARD CALVERT OF LONDON, ESQUIRE, AND SIR RICHARD LECHFORD OF SHELLWOOD, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY, KNIGHT.

Articles Indented of Covenant and Agreement made and agreed vpon the seauenth day of October Anno Dmi: 1633. And in the ninth yeare of the raigne of our Souraigne Lord Charles King of England &c: Betweene Leonard Caluert of London Esquier of th' one part: And Sr Richard Lechford of Shellwood in the County of Surrey Knight, of the other part; as followeth: Viz:

Inprimis whereas the sayd p̄ties have now adventured the som̄e of ffower hundred, one pounds thirteene shillings and eight pence of lawfull money of England, vpon a Voyage to be made by the sayd Leonard Caluert & others into the Province of Maryland in the parts of America; And the said Leonard Caluert hath adventured three parts of the sayd som̄e of ffower hundred, one poundes thirteene shillings and eight pence; And the sayd Sr Richard Lechford hath adventured 1 fourth part of the sayd som̄e of 401^£ 13^s 8^d Now the sayd Leonard Caluert doth for him, his ex̄tors admrōrs and assignes & for any of them, Covenant, promise, grant, and agree to & wth the sayd Sr Richard Lechford his executors admrōrs and assignes and to & wth every of them by these presents; That hee the sayd Leonard Caluert; his executers admrōrs or assignes or some of them, shall and will (vpon every reasonable request to be made vnto him or them by the sayd Sr Richard Lechford his ex̄tors admrōrs or assignes or some of them); make & yield vnto the sayd

Sr Richard Lechford his executo^rs administrato^rs and assignes, or to some of them; a true, iust, full and p'fect Account and reckoning of, for, and concerning the whole profitt and benefitt, wch shalbe any wayes made by the said entire sum̄e of fower hundred one pound thirteene shillings eight pence so adventured as aforesaid: And that vpon every such Account soe made as aforesaid, be the said Leonard Caluert his executo^rs administrato^rs or assignes shall well and truely pay or cause to be payed vnto the said Sr Richard Lechford his executors administrato^rs or assignes or vnto some of them; a full fourth part of the said whole profitt & benefitt wch shalbe made by the said sume of ffower hundred One pound thirteene shillings eight pence so adventured as aforesaid./

Item the said Sr Richard Lechford doth for him his executo^rs administrato^rs and assignes and for euery of them; Covenant promise and graunt to and wth the said Leonard Caluert his executo^rs administrato^rs and assignes and every of them by these presents: That he the said Leonard Caluert his executo^rs administrato^rs and assignes and euery of them; shall or lawfully may, at all tymes, receiue and keepe to his and their owne proper vse and behoofe; all the said three parts of the said whole profitt and benefitt, wch shalbe, made by the said entire sum̄e of ffower hundred one pound thirteene shillings eight pence:

In witnes whereof, the said p̄ties haue to these p^rsent Articles Indented, interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and yeares first aboue written./

LEONARD CALUERT

Sealed and delivered in the presence of (Seal.)

Robt Cureton Secy

Jo: Knight Shrieu D̄co S̄cry

DEED DATED 15TH OCTOBER, 1633, FROM CECILIUS LORD BALTIMORE TO LEONARD CALVERT.

Deed dated 15th Oct. 1633, for $\frac{1}{8}$ part of vessel "Dove" to Leonard Calvert from Cecil Lord Baltimore. Signed by Cecilius Baltimore & Seal attached— (Parchment)

To all People to whom this present writing shall come the right Honourable Cecil Lord Baltimore Sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting: Know yee That the said Cecill Lord Baltimore for and in consideration of a certaine some of lawfull money of England to him in hand paid before the ensealing hereof by Leonard Calvert of London Esquier, Whereof the said Lord Baltimore doth confesse the receipt. And thereof doth clearely acquitt and discharge the said Leonard Calvert his executors and administrators forever by theis presents: Hath bargayned and sold, And by theis presents doth fully and absolutely bargaine and sell vnto the said Leonard Calvert One full and equall Eighth part of All that Barke or Vessell called the Dove of Maryland of the burthen of ffortie Tunne or thereabouts now remayning and being in the River of Thames London, And one full and equall Eighth part of all and every the Anchors, Cables ropes, cords, Masts, Sailes, Saile yards, Tackle, Apparrell, ffurniture necessaryes appurtenances and things whatsoever to the same Barke or Vessell belonging or appertayning: To haue and to hold the said One full and equall Eighth part of the said Barke or Vessell and all other the above bargayned premisses and every of them and every part thereof vnto the said Leonard Calvert his executors and administra-

tors and assignes to his and their vse and vses and as his and their owne proper Goods and Chattles from henceforth freely and absolutely foreuermore: And the said Cecill Lord Baltimore for himself his executors administrators and every of them doth Covenant and graunt to and with the said Leonard Calvert his executors and assignes by theis presents in manner and forme following, that is to say, That the said One full and equall Eighth part of the said Barke or Vessell and all other the aboue bargayned premisses and every of them the day of the date hereof. And at the time of the ensealing and deliuerie hereof are and be, And so from henceforth forever shall be remaine and continue vnto the said Leonard Calvert his executors and assignes cleare and free and clearely acquitted and discharged. Or by the said Cecill Lord Baltimore his executors or administrators sufficiently saved and kept harmelesse of and from all and singular former and other bargaines, sales, bonds, charges, titles, troubles and incumbraunces whatsoever, had, made, comitted or done before th' ensealing hereof by the said Cecill Lord Baltimore or of or by any other person or persons by his meanes or procurement: In Witnes whereof the said Cecill Lord Baltimore hath herevnto put his hand and Seale Geouen the ffifteenth day of October 1633. And in the ninth yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord king Charles &c.

CECILIUS BALTIMORE. (Seal.)

(Endorsement.)
Sealed and delivered
in the presence of
George Calvert
Jo: Boles

BOND FROM LEONARD CALVERT TO SIR RICHARD LECHFORD, DATED 19TH OCTOBER, 1633.

Noverint vniusi p̄ p̄ntes me Leonardn Calvert de London Armigern teneri et firmiter obligari Ricō Lechford de Shelwood in Com Surr milit in ducentis Libris bons et leglis Monete Anglie Solvend eidem Ricō executor admstrator vel assign suis Ad quam quidem solucoēm bene et fideliter faciend Obligo me heredeo executor et admiñstrator meos firmiter p̄ p̄ntes Sigillo meo sigillat Dat Decimo Nono Die Octobris, Anno regni Dni nri Caroli Dei gracia Anglie Scocie ffrancie et Hibnie Regis fidei Defensor &c.
Nono Annoqe Dni. 1633./

Whereas the aboue named Sr Richard Lechford hath the Day of the date of theis p̄nts Deliued into the hands of the aboue bounden Leonard Calvert the sum̄e of ffifty pounds eight shillings & sixe pence of Lawfull money of England, and by an obligacon bearing even date with theis pnts hath entred bond vnto the said Leonard Calvert in the penall sum̄e of One hundred pounds Condicōned for the paymt. of ffiftye pounds more on the ffive and twentyeth day of Aprill next ensuing the date hereof At or in the Middle Temple hall scituate neere ffleetestreete London Wch moneys the said Sr Richard Lechford Doth adventure with the said Leonard Calvert into the Province of Marieland in the part of America according to certeine Articles of agreement in that behalfe made betwene them, And for that purpose the said Leonard Calvert hath already provided a sufficient Shipp for the said voyage: Nowe The Condicōn of this obligacōn is such That

in case the said Leonard Calvert Doe not or shall not cause and procure, the said Shipp to sett saile out of and from his Ma^{ts} Ports whatsoever for and vpon the said voyage intended to the said Province of Marieland as aforesaid before the feast Day of the Birth of Sauiour Christ nowe next ensuing the date of theis pnts, Or in case the said Shipp shalbe staid or hindred, by reason of any command from his Matie or from any his highnes Courts of Justice at the suite of any Subiect or otherwise howsoever, and shall not bee freed thereof and sett sayle as aforesaid before the said feast day, Then and in any the said Cases p̄st the said Leonard Calvert his heires executo^{rs} administrato^{rs} and assignes or some of them Doe and shall wthin Tenn dayes next and im̄ediatlye following the said feast day well and truly pay or cause to be paid vnto the said Sr Richard Lechford his executo^{rs} administrato^{rs} or assignes the sum̄e of ffiftye pounds eight shillings & five pence Lawfull money of England soe paid and Delivered by him the said Sr Richard to the said Leonard as aforesaid, and also wthin the said Tenn Dayes Deliver vp into the hands of the said Sr Richard Lechford his executo^{rs} or assignes the said obligac̄on of One hundred pounds condic̄oned for paym^{t} of ffifty pounds as aforesaid Togither also wth all such other writings bonds & securities as the said Sr Richard Lechford hath before this time made or entred into either to the said Leonard or any other trusted for him touching or concerning the p^{r}misses, to be cancelled & made voide. That then this p^{r}sent obligac̄on to be void and of none effect, Or ells it to stand & remaine infull force & vertue

LEONARD CALVERT

Sigillat et Delibat in pncia (Seal removed.)
Robti Cureton Secy.
Jo: Knight Shrieu Dcō Sc̄ry.

LETTER FROM LEONARD CALVERT TO SIR RICHARD LECHFORD DATED 30TH MAY, 1634.

Kinde Partner

St. Cecilia-s day the 22th of November 1634 a small Gale of winde comeing gently from the Northeast, wee weighed from the cowes, about tenn in the morninge and sayled towards the needles, the south-west end of the Ile of Wight, betweene the two lands, about the same eueninge the winde leauinge vs wee ankered right against the Castle of Yarmouth. That night there rose so strong a winde, as forced a ffrench barke that rode by vs from her anker hold and comeinge fowle vpon our pinnace, turned her adrift likewise, wherevpon early in the morninge hauinge lost her ankor, shee set sayle, and turninge too and againe till shee spoake wth vs, shee streight made out to sea, and wee shortly after followed. With this winde we sayled 60 leagues cleare of the lande end of England, where the winde suddainly changed to the Northwest against vs, and blew soe strong and tempestuous, that our pinnace not able to indure it, bore vp before the winde, and returned into the Iland Scilly; whence not long after shee put forth to sea againe, and met vs at the Barbadoes, where we had put in though it were out of our due course, to furnish our selues wth seed corne, for our plantinge that yeare in Maryland, which wee had little hopes Virginia would afford vs, and therefore were vnwillinge to put ourselues to their mercy, for a Commodity which did so necessarily concerne our whole subsistance: At this Iland wee arrived January the third, and remained there till the 24th of the same moneth, and thence wee set sayle for St

Christophers where we arrived the 29th of January, here we stayed some tenne dayes, to take in a new supply of water, and shift our ship for the second part of our voyage, which done we set sayle for Virginia, where we arriued the 27th of ffebruary, and staying there some 8 or 9 dayes to land some passengers, and to deliuer the kinges letters to Sr John Haruey, wee sayled for Maryland, the Countrey we so longe looked for, [in] which we made choyse of the most southerly riuer to set downe in, and (as I have found it) the fairest; beeinge 7 or 8 leagues broad at the mouth affordinge a deepe channell from side to side, the land beinge high and free from swampes and marshes; growne over wth large timber trees, and not choaked vp wth any vnder-shrubs, but so cleare as a coach may wthout hinderance passe all ouer the Countrie: At our first arriuall, the Indians being astonished at the sight of so great a Cannow (as they termed it) and at the number of people, they imagined those to bee, which were as it were heaped vpon the deckes, they raysed all the nations throughout the riuer, makeinge first from towne to towne, by which they made a generall alarm, as if they intended to summon all the Indians of America against vs, this happened more by the ill reporte our enemies of Virginia had prepossessed them wthall, of our cominge to their countrey wth intention to destroy them all, and take from them their countrey, then by any reall iniuries they had received from vs: wherevpon to settle some peace betwixt vs and them, and giue them more truely to vnderstand our good intentions toward them, and wthall to view all parts of this faire riuer, so to be able to make some good choise of a seat for our Colony, I sailed in our pinnace almost to the head of the said riuer, where the Emperour of all those pettie indian kinges, called the emperour of Pascatoway did reside; to whome after I had declared my good intentions in

comeinge to those parts, I settled a firme peace wth him, and likewise obteined leaue from him, to make vse of what place I would chuse for myselfe and our company to sett downe in this done I returned to the place where I had left the great ship at anchour, viewinge many parts of the shoare on each side of the riuer by the way: In all wch tract I could not finde, what I most looked for, to wit some field cleered and left by the Indians, wherefore I went from the ship more towards the mouth of the said riuer, where (by direction of our Captaine Henry ffleet who was very well acquainted with all parts of the riuer, and of the Indians likewise) I found a most conuenient harbour, and pleasant Countrey lyinge on each side of it, wth many large fields of excellent land, cleared from all wood; on the east side of it we have seated ourselues, wthin one halfe mile of the riuer, wthin a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square, wth fower flankes, we haue mounted one peece of ordnance, and placed six murderers in parts most convenient; a fortification (we thinke) sufficient to defend against any such weake enemies as we haue reason to expect here: whilest we were a doinge these thinges a shoare, our pinnace by our directions followed the trade of beauer, thorow all parts of the precincts of this pvince: But by reason of our so late arriuall here we came too late for the first part of the trade of this yeare: wch is the reason I haue sent home so few furrs, (they beinge all dealt for by those of Virginia before our comeinge:) the second part of our trade is now in hand, and is like to prove very beneficiall: The nation we trade wthall at this time ayeare, is called the Massawomeckes.

this nation cometh seuen, eight and tenne dayes journey from the Iland to vs; these are those, from whome Kircke had formerly all his trade of beauer; But since they haue found

a trade with vs, they haue left of that other, by reason we are by halfe the way neerer to them, wee vnderstand for cetaine, by Indians lately come from the said nation, that they haue brought wth them vpwards of 2000 skins Our shares of those whatsoeuer it shall prove to bee, I will send home the next yeare: wee haue lost by our late comeinge 3000 skins, which others of Virginia haue traded for, but hereafter they shall come noe more here wherefore I make no doubt but next yeare, we shall driue a very great trade, if our supply of trucke faile not which we have sent for, the particulars whereof I haue herewith sent you, and the summe we haue all thought fitt to adventure is thirtie pounds p̄ share, as by the note of particulars you may p̄ceive; it is double to that we adventured last yeare, because we finde by experience, that the quantity of trucke we brought ouer last is nothinge, in respect of what is here to be vented, and there is not anythinge doth more indanger the losse of commerce wth the Indians, then want of trucke to barter with them, wherefore I hope you will not grudge to put in your share though as yet you have not the full returne you expected from your last aduenture: what you finde short therein, you cannot count lost, for you haue so hopefull expectation of what is as good as present possession: The number of skins allreadie come in, is 298, the weight of them is 451^{l} of beauer, our 3–30th shares in this amountes to 45^{l} of beauer, out of wch there is deducted our share in such charges for the pinnace, and other things that we are interested in, whereof I haue sent you a note, that cometh to two pound fiue sixteenths of beauer, and in another bill to one pound fower shillinges six pence in money, the remainder of beauer, will be 43$^{lb}\frac{11}{16}$ conteined in 33½ skins marked vpon the outward-most of the skins of the packe thus, what my share comes to, I desire

G: put in a hhd Marked C: L:

you would giue me an account of, together with that of the sale of them the next yeare, and lay it out for me towards my share in the supply of trucke, and in what it cometh short of the summe requisite for that purpose, I desire to be answerable to you for it, the next yeare, if you will doe me the courtesie to lay it out for me, for my trust to what I should receiue from the trade of beauer this yeare made me, dispose of what money I haue for 3 yeares time wherefor I cannot readdily furnish my-selfe; I will proue honest to you, if you dare trust me for so much; if not, pray giue notice presently of to my brother Peasley who dwelleth in a part of Mr Gages new house in Lincolnes Inns fielde: right against the Cock-pit play-house, and he will doe what can be done suddainly for me. I haue in beauer, (wch came in lately since my comeinge wth my brothers ship from St maries from Maryland, to James riuer in Virginia) as much as will satisfie for the courtesy I desire of you, but I cannot send it now by reason the ship cannot stay till I send for it; the quantity of skins lately come in is 233 of beauer, 53 muskatt skins, 17 otter skins. In Indian coates one rich fox skins coat, fower loose fox skins and one coat of martin skins, this a small boat brought in, which wee had sent forth to gather what scatteringe skins were to be had among the Indians, thorow the baye in which voyage they that went tooke particular observation of all places they came to, and of all passages between them and the Indians, and gaue me a description of all in writinge, a coppy whereof I haue herewith sent you; and likewise a more exact iournall of all our voyage then I could finde time to deliuer vnto you in this letter, in respect of my much other businesse about the [letter torn] the ship homeward, and other affaires of the Colonie: This I haue sent you was writ by a most honest and discreet

gentleman, wherefore you may be confident of the truth of it: when you deliuer vnto Mrs Constant Wells her 16th part of the beauer, pray giue her likewise these bills of Charges, and desire of her, her 16th part of the supply, all wch thinges I will acquaint her with. There is likewise a proportion of charges agreed vpon by the rest of the partners and myselfe for a supply of ropes and sailes for the pinnace, to the valew of twentie pounds against next yeare, whereof our shares cometh toe 50^{l} shillings. This money we haue appointed [illegible] of the Arke to receiue, and dispose for us in this manner. If you can doe me the courtesie to disburse my part for those other things, I desire you will doe the like for this; and I shall euer be readie to doe you what service here or elsewhere I shall be able and rest

ffrom Point Comfort 30 of May 1634

Your affectionate ffriend and Seruant
LEONARD CALUERT

I pray remember my best respects to Sr George Kemp, and all my worthy ffriends in Graues=end lane

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM LEONARD CALVERT, DATED 30TH MAY, 1634.

S^r^

After I had finnished my first letter vnto you this occasioned happened wch is this, I haue bought of a aduenturer that came forth wth vs this voyage, his whole share in trade and seruants for 120^l^ 3 yeares hence to be payd in Tobaccoes, and beauer here according to the rate of the country, by this bargaine I haue receiued one share more out of such furrs as came in, wch I haue sent to you togeather wth that wch is deuiduable betwixt vs, vpon wch I haue signed a bill of exchange of 9^l^ for one Mr Richard Edwards our Chyrurgeon of the Arcke dated the 30th day of May 1634, and one other of 10^l^ to Mr Robert Smithson dated on the same day, and yeare I pray make payment of this as farre as the valew of those goodes will come to, and if it should fall short of the complement of the debt, I pray either pay it for me or do me the curtesie to acquaint my Brother Peasely wth it. though in the former you would much oblige me. if you desire to partake wth me in the bargaine I haue made for that gentlemans aduenture wch I haue bought I am willing, and I pray let me know your resolution in it by the next shipping this way. I thought myselfe obliged to proferr it you because as I remember it was so agreed betwixt vs. In hast I rest

Your most affectionate
ffreind
LEONARD CALUERT

ffrom poynt Comfort
the 30th of May 1634

When I packed vp the beauer wch belonged to you and me I weiged it and it proued farre short of the weight it had before by reason it was much dryed for the full complement of skins were there the want in weight was six pounds, but it is likely they will returne to theire old weight againe by the time you receiue them. I haue sent you a note of the weight and tally of skins, here inclosed

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"A BRIEFE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE VNTO MARYLAND."

On St Cecilias day, the 22 of November 1633 with a gentle Northerne gale we set saile from the Cowes about 10 in the morninge, toward the needles, being rockes at the south end of Ile of Wight, till by default of winde we were forced to ankour at Yarmouth, wch very kindly saluted vs how beit we were not out of feare, for the seamen secretly reported that they expected the post with letters from the Counsell at London: but God would tende the matter, and sent th^{t} night soe strong a faire winde as forced a ffrench barke from her ankor hold driveing her foule vpon our pinnace forced her to set saile with losse of an ankour, and take to Sea, that being a dangerous place to floate in, whereby we were necessarily to follow, least we should part companie, and thus God frustrated the plot of our Seamen, this was the 23 of Novemb: on St Clements day who wonne his Crowne by being cast into the Sea fastned to an ankor; that morneing by 10 a clocke we came to Hurste Castle, and thence were saluted with a shot, and soe passed by the dangerous needles, being certaine sharpe rockes at the end of the Iland, much feared by Seamen

for a double tyde which she carried to Shipwrecke, tone vpon the rockes, t- other vpon the sand, I omitt our danger passed Yarmouth, where by dragging anchour in a strong winde and tide we almost runne of our shipp a ground. All this Saturday and the night following the winde serued vs so well, that next day by 9 of Clocke we got beyond the westerne Cape of England, and so steered along not soe strongly as wee might because of our pinnace slow saileinge, whome we feared to leaue behinde, for feare shee might meet wth Turkes or some other pirates though we see nowe, by this meanes a faire shipp of London overtooke vs of 600 tunne, here we had a greate recreation to see that ship and ours runne for the fame with all the cloath they could make, an howers space with faire winde and weather, and pleasant sound of trumpetts, but ours gaue the other a topsaile and yet held with her, this done we stroke one course of our sailes, and staied for our pinnace, which was farre short of vs, and the draggon, for soe shee was called runne from vs out of sight that evening. Soe all Sunday and Munday the 24th and 25th of Novemb: we sailed afore the winde, till night, when the winde changed to Northwest so violent, and tempestuous, as the dragon was forced backe to ffamouth, not able to keep the sea, being yet not to goe southwest, but right south to Angola, and our pinnace mistrusting her strength came up to vs to tell that if shee were in distresse shee would shew two lights in her shroode; our master was a very sufficient seaman, and shipp as strong as could be made of oake and iron, 400 tunne, kingbuilt: makeinge faire weather in great stormes: now the master had his choise, whether he would returne England as the draggon did, or saile so close vp to the winde, as if he should not hold it he must necessarily fall vpon the Irish shoare, so infamous for rockes of greatest danger: of these

two out of a certaine hardinesse and desire to trie the goodnesse of his shipp, in which he had neuer beene at Sea afore, he resolved to keep the sea, with great danger, wanting Sea=roome: the winde grew still lowder, and lowder makeing a boȳsterous sea, and about midnight we espied our pinnace with her two lights, as she had forewarned vs in the shroode from wch time till six weekes, we neuer see her more, thinkeing shee had assuredly beene foundred and lost in those huge seas, but it happened otherwise, for before shee came to the Irish Channell, where we were now tossinge, shee returned for England, and entered into the Scilley Iles, whence afterward in the dragons Company shee came to the long reach and Canarie Iles, God p̄uideing a convenient guard for that small vessell: this night thus frightfull being past the winde came about to South west, full against vs, though not very stronge so that with many tackes about we scarce crept on our way, soe all the 26 27 and 28 dayes the winde altered little, on the 29th the winde were all day a gathering and toward night poured forth such a sea of winde as if they would haue blowen our shipp vnder water at every blast, all next day beinge the blessed apostle St Andrewes day, the like cloude gathered in fearefull manner, terrible to the beholders, so that ere it began to blow it seemed all the sprightes and witches of Maryland were now set in battaile array against vs, this euening the master saw the sunne fish to swimme against the sunnes course, a thing euidently shewing fearfull stormes to come: about 10 in the night a blacke cloud shede a pittifull shower vpon vs, and presently such a furious winde followed as wee were able to beare noe cloath at all, and yet before we could take in our maine Course, wch we onely carried, a furious impression of winde suddainely came, and splitt it from top to toae, and cast one part

of it into the sea this amazed the stoutest hearte, even of the sailours, who confessed they had seene ships cast away with lesse violence of weather, all the Catholiques fell to praier, Confessiones, and vowes, and then the helme being bound vp, and ship left without saile or gouernment to the windes and waues, floated at hull like a dish till god were pleased to take pittie vpon her: thus we were in feare of imminent death all this night never lookeing to see day in this world, till at length it pleased God to send some ease, and by little and little still more, till we were with milder weather freed from all those horrours: this deliuerie in a manner assured vs of Gods mercy towards vs, and those infidells Conversion of Maryland, his holy Goodness be foreuer praised, Amen. from this time to our iourneyes end, about 3 monethes, we had not one howre of bad weather, but soe p̄rp̄ous a nauigation, as our mariners never saw so sweet a passage: when I say 3 months, I meane not we were so long at sea but reckon the time spent at Barbadoes and St Christophers, for we were at sea onely 7 weekes and 2 daies, wch is held a speedy passage: from this time all alonge the Spanish Coast we had nor good, nor very bad windes, in wch time we looked for Turkes but saw none, it seemes they were returned home to celebrate their Tamisom, a great feast which happeneth about that time, after we had passed the Straits=mouth and the Maderas, and now went full afore the winde, which is here trade, and ever constant on one point of the Compasse, still servinge for south and Southwest as we sailed we made 3 ships bigger then ours, 3 leagus west from vs, labouring as we imagined towards vs: we feared the might be turkes, and therefore made readie for fight, neither wanted some who imprudently wished the master to make towards them, but he answered he could not iustifie that to the owners of the ship,

and indeed he might well have found a hard bargaine of it, happily they were Canarie merchants and feared vs as we them; in the long reach we feared nought but Calmes, which sometimes held a fortnight or 3 weekes together, and starve men, but this happens not above once in an age, there are often tedious stayes for fault of winde, but when it comes it is ever the same (1) for our way: we sailed 3000 miles in this reach in a sea of milke without any calme in the dead of winter, where we had every as hote, as the hotest day of summer in England, so that in summer tis intolerable for heat, where I see that, diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, for if we had not had those Crosses, rubbs, and difficulties before our comeing forth, we had got the hote weather which had doubtlesse, cost most of our liues: from our setting forth till Christmas day our sickenesse onely sea-sicknesse, then indeed for the celebrity of the daye wine being given ouer all the ship, it was soe immoderately taken as the next day 30 sickened of fevers, whereof about a dozen died afterward amongest which one Catholique venturer, Mr Nicholas ffarefax, and one very faithfull servant of my L^{rde} named Mr Barefoot; some curiosities we see in our way, as flieinge fishes, wch vse their finnes as well to flie as swimme, they are of the bignesse of sparling fish or great smelt very dainty for meat: some of them as they rise in hundreds pursued by the dolphins fell into our ship, being not able to flie aboue two or three acres, when their finnes being dried, they must neede dippe them into the water to flie a fresh againe; after we came within 21 and some odd minutes of the Aquinoctiall, where begins the tropicke, we saw the tropicke bird, bigge as falcons, with 2 white feathers in their traines and noe more, whether they alwaies, keep in the aire, or sometimes rest on the water I know not; when we had passed the

Canaries our gouernour begunne to bee sollicitous for fraight homeward, fearinge we should come to late for it to Virginia, and likewise that the Virginians wd stand but our heauie freinde, though the could p̄haps furnish vs in that kinde after talke had with the commissioners and gentlemen, resolution was made to beare vp to Bonauista directly south, and an Iland right against Angola, on the Coast of Affrique 14 degrees from the line whither the Hollander since the losse of St Martines vseth to goe for salt, thence carrieing it to Newfoundland to make fish: this Iland abounds with goats, haueing in it none inhabitante but some 40 or 50 Portiugalls banished thither for crimes committed by them both the salt for fraight, and goates for fresh food inuited vs thither though if the yeare were wet, as it had beene the yeare afore noe salt can be made: we had not gone full 200 miles, when the Commissioners seeing all the commodity redounded to my Lrd, and that their land p̄uision was like to be spent by this circuit, caused the gouernour to question the purser what p̄uision of bread was aboard, and findeing it short we altered againe our course to St Christophers, and soe began to thinke at what season we were like to come to Maryland, and how we should p̄cure our seed corne, as for Virginia we expected little from them but blows, although we carried the kings letters to their Gouernour, and the governour himselfe much esteemed and loved my L^{re} yet wee feared he could or would doe vs little good being ouerawed by his councell; as for the Saluages we expected to finde them as our English ill wishers would make them, and therefore affraid to build all the weale of our plantation on price p̄adventures, resolution was made for the Barbadoes, the granarie of all the Charybbies Iles, which how be it it was somewhat about for corne was the surest course. In this Iland Mr Hierom Hawley his brother

was gouernour, and in his absence Mr Acers his brother in law was deputie: here we arriued Januar: the 3 hopeinge for some refreshinge by conuenient good dyet some few dayes, but in part we were deceiued for euery thing bore so high price, that nothing could be had, but it Cost vs our eies, a pigge six weekes old was at 5l sterling a turke 50s and a chicken at 6s beefe or mutton they haue none, and the inhabitants live wholy vpon poane (that Indian bread) and homine, and potato roote which they have in such plentie as they will giue Cart loades to almost any for the fetching The gouernour told vs at first, corne was at 1s the bushell, but vnderstanding that we came for corne he called a Counsell and decreed there should none be sould vs vnder 2s a bushell, and soe we found him a kinde kinsman of Mr Hawleyes, other poore passages we had from not worth recountinge: at our arrivall here we vnderstood the Spanish fleet was at Bonauista to hinder all strangers from salt, and it being beyond the tropicke to make prize of them here therefore we admired the p̄uidence of god in p̄tecting vs from that danger: but from a farre great at Barbadoes, the very day we arriued, we found the Iland all in armes to the number of about 800 men, the seruants of the Iland had conspired to kill their masters and make themselues free, and then handsomely to take the first ship that came, and soe goe to sea, this first ship was ours and therefore it was the goodnesse of god to discover the treason by a seruant who was affraid to Joine in the plott with them, the ringleaders were 2 brothers named Westons Westerne men, whereof one was put to death but the other saued by means of friends, God be praised for this our deliverance. This is one of the 12 Charybbian Ilands which runne vp like a bow in the baye of Mexico, some 30 miles long, and 15 broad, 13 degrees from the line,

the clime is so hote as being now winter they can endure to weare noe more then a shirt, a pare of linneing drawers and linnen stockings on them, that time their corne was newly reapt. they vse noe bede, but onely hamachoes which are curious blankets of fine cotton neatly wrought and painted on the outside, and hung vp a yard or lesse from ground by a rope at each end fastned to two posts when they goe to rest and on the day time taken away, and carried about with them when they trauaile, here are many things as well p̄fitable for trade, as full of content to behold, their trade is chiefely in corne and cotton, which cotton it delighted vs much to see grow vpon trees in such plentie, the cotton tree is not much higher then a barbara bush, but more treelike, it beares a little bude in bignesse like a wallnut, which at full time opening in the middle into fower quarter, their appeares a knot of cotton white as snow, with six seede in the middle of the bignesse of vetches which with an inuention of wheele they take out and soe keep it till the merchants fetch it from them: here is a cabbage growes on a tree 180 foot high to be eaten raw or boiled, the stalke of it is for one yard from top good meat, to be eaten raw with pepper, it is in tast like the Spanish Cardo but sweeter, the tree beares but one yearely, and in wood is onely a leguminous substance: here are also foxeberrie trees, high as ash the berrie is of bignesse of a hazell nut with an vnctuous skin or couer which washeth scoureth and laddereth passing well, but is (as they say) somewhat too strong for fine linnen, of these I found and carried a number to Maryland, and haue them now in the ground: there is another tree called palm Christi, with a spongious stalke, it beares a great thorny cluster of ash-coloured seede speckled with blacke whereof is made an excellent oyle Oranges, lemmons, limes, pomegranade, peaches

and such other fruite there are but not in any great plentie as yet; another fruit I saw called guaueos, in taste like quinches, in colour like gould, in figure like the smallest lemmons, a fruit very gratefull to taste; another there is like vnto these called Papares, ouer sweet and luscious, which they vse to eat boiled with other meate. But the rarest of all other that I thinke is in the world, is the Charybbian Pineaple, of the colour of gould, mixed with an orient greene, bigge as three Spanish pineaples, and of the same figure externall to the eie, saue that the worke of this is more p̄fect, it is not hard to peele, but of softe and thinne skinne, of delitious taste not haueing one membranula or kernell, but all from highest part to lowest, cleane through equally dainty to taste, it beares in the toppe a Crowne of its owne leaues curiously compacte, and well it may for sure it is the queene of all meat fruits without exception, the taste, as neere as I can expresse it is an Aromaticall compound of wine and strawberries, and a better thing then this of Soueraigne efficacy to preserue health, and so well tempered to mans bodie as though it would consume a knife put thereing any time, there is nothing more restoritiue: it growes from a thing like a Spanish thistle, one onely on euery roote, but the leafe hath noe prickles, but a curious peake about its edges: in fine I wish one of them in your hande with this paper, for nothing can express it but it selfe: there is another speciall fruit called a plantaine, singular for pleasant and delightfull tast, fructus platani as in latine they terme it the tree is but a leguminous substance, to the hight and thicnesse of a tree of thicknesse of ones thigh, the leaues which are onely in the toppe for its ribbats are commonly a yard or more in length, and more then a quarter brood decently seamed with veines runneing like ribbs from the thicke in the middle as from the

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backe bone, it growes as high as a Cherry tree in the top from the very middle pith springeth a purple sheath like a sugar loafe full of blossomes, which with its weight turnes the head dounward and then comes thereon the fruit in a cluster like and hundred cucūbers together, but being ripe yellow coloured and somewhat bigger, they are of curious taste like Marmalate and much of that temper, very delightfull fit to p̄serve, bake, or eat rawe. The potato root is of the very same colour skinne and figure of artichooke rootes, but in taste and temper much like a carrot, but farre more excellent: here is the Cinnamon tree, the Aualto tree the rope tree, which from the top sendeth out long suckers, which take root in the ground and so spread ouer large places, the wilde figge tree, the Maw forest tree which is poison; the monkey tree bearing fruit, a plaine and p̄fect munkeys face, and many others: foule I see little, save some few pigeons stocdoues, and some others, vines will not grew there, the place is a plaine ground, growne ouer wth trees and vndershrubs without passage, except where the planters have cleared, some few Catholiques there be both English and Irish, here we staied from January 3 to the 24th by which meanes we came to enioy againe our pinnace, wch not knowing of our comeing was guided, to our soe great comfort as if that day we had beene reuived to life againe: for before we saw her in the harbour we gaue her for lost in that hideous storme: herein gods mercy was shewed towards vs, and noe lesse again in staying vs here till the Spanish ships, in number fiue, were gone out of our way: for soe it happened, five great Spanish men of warre came to scoure the Charybbian Coaste, and make prize of whomesoever they saw saile, beyond the grave Meridian or tropicke: and had beene those very dayes before St Christophers, where findeing 2 small english barkes, and 2

or 3 great Hollanders guarded with a man of warre, by way of Salue gave them a peece of ordinance, or two: (vnwilling to wrong the priviledge of that p̄misshend plantation, to which they had giuen time till one halfe years end to be gone and p̄vide them elsewhere, or else to expect blowes to enforce them, this plantation was once afore destroied by the Spaniard, saue some few hidden in the mountaines, by whome with much miserie the place was againe restored:) the holland man of warre for his salute, returned a bullet, and weighing anchour made to sea, to enter fight, and withall engaged the 2 English barkes to doe the like: of those fiue English and Hollands, onely 2 had ordinance; but the Spaniards each about 30 brasse peeces, the manner of this feight I know not, but in fine all runne away except the man of warre, who either fired her selfe or sunke when she could hold out no longer, for she cannot be heard of. If we had come the whilest, tis like enough we had beene to forward with the rest, haveing so p̄ft a ship soe well gunn'd and man'd, and whether we had wonne or lost, our ship had certainly spoiled for saile til she had been repared, but god who endeareth the spirituall good of Maryland p̄served vs from danger, Protector noster et merces nostra magna nimis: the 24th of January we weighed from Barba: and by noone next day made St Lucia=s one the Charybbies, divided in it selfe, the servants (being Negroes) against the Saluage maisters; then about 4 in the evening we came before Matilena[1] where we came to ankor, and 2 Canowes, of starknaked Indians came paddleing aboard vs, with paruats, pumpkins, callabashes, bonana-s muskmellons watermellons and the like to exchange with vs; they much feared at first the greatnesse of our ship,

[1] Probably *Martinique;* called by the Spaniards *Martinico*, and formerly by the natives *Madiana.*

and though we put out a white flagge of peace, yet they desired we would put forth our nations proper colours, which done, they p̄ceived whence wee were, and then boldly came aboard: this people is bigger then ours, and fatt and tawney coloured with ointments and oiles wherewth they be painted, something wee trucked with them, as knives, bells and the like: and so they returned, saieing if we would ride there till morneing they would bring better trucke, as hammachoes, baskets and the like: they are a fierce nation, feeding on mans flesh wthout all knowledge of god, and haue heretofore cut of some English enterprisers: the Iland is all a hill, yet wonderfull fruitfull and florishing it is the serious report of seamen, vpon report of a ffrench wrecke, that here hath beene seene the Carbuncle, haveing in his head a pretious stone, light as a glowinge coale, of infinite valew ffides sit penes autorem: next morning by dawneing of the day we made Guadelupe an Ile so called for the similitude it hath with Guadelupe of Spaine, mountainous, almost as the other, by noone we came before Monserat, where is a noble plantation of Irish Catholique whome the virginians would not suffer to live with them because of their religion thence next morneing wee came to Maeuis,[1] an Iland infamous for agues by reason of the bad aire, here haveing staied a day, next morninge we came to St Christophers hard by, where we staied 10 dayes, nobly enterteined by Sr Thomas Waroner, governour, Captaine Jefferson, leiuetennant Coronell, by 2 Catholique Capt: Cauerley, and Capt. Pellam, and my selfe in particular by the governour of the ffrench Colonie: in the same Iland, here is beside all the varities of Barbadoes, a hill of brimstone and much more to be admired, here is also the virgin plant, or Parthenia, wch they terme the sensible tree, which after the

[1] Probably *Nevis*.

least touch of ones hand I see fall downe withered, and then againe revived after a little space; here is the locust tree which I supposed to be that whereon St John Baptist lived in the wildernesse, it is high as an elme, soe loved of bees as they build their Combes on it, I have seene and tasted the honnie, then wch settinge aside the name wilde, there is none purer of taste and colour, the fruit is also called a locust, haveing a hard sheath as bigge as six beane code, conteineing in it a tough substance in taste like meale and honny, with fower or 5 seede of colour and greatnesse like chestnut, some of them we have planted, from this place we came to Virginia ffebruary the 27th, much contrary to My L^{rde} instructions, we expected here every hower to be staied by the Councell, desireing noethinge more then our ruine, at this time Captaine Claborne was there from whome we vnderstood the Indians were all in armes to resist vs, haveing heard that 6 Spanish ships were a comeing to destroy them all the rumour was most like to have begunne from himselfe, we had the kings letters, and my Lord treasurers to the governours, which made him shew to vs the best vsage, the place afforded with p̄mise to furnish vs with all manner of Provistions for our plantation though much against his Councells will, not doubting I suppose to receive noble gratification from my Lrd by whose helpe he hoped to recover a great summe of money due to him out of the exchequer; here we staied 8 or 9 daies not wthout imminent daunger, vnder Commande of the Castle, and then on the 3 of March came into Chesapeake bay, at the mouth of Patomecke, this baye is the most delightfull water I ever saw, between two sweet lande, with a channell, 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : and 8 fathoms deepe, some 10 leagues broad, at time of yeare full of fish, yet it doth yeeld to Patomecke, wch we have made St Gregories; this is the sweetest and greatest river I

have seene, so that the Thames is but a little finger to it, there are noe marshes or swampes about it, but solid firme ground, with great variety of woode, not choaked vp with vndershrubs, but commonly so farre distant from each other as a coach and fower horses may travale without molestation; at our first comeing we found (as we were told) all in armes; the king of Pascatoway had drawne together 500 bowmen, great fires were made by night over all the Country, and the biggnesse of our ship made the natives reporte, we came in a Canow as bigg as an Iland, with so many men, as trees were in a wood, with great terrour vnto them all: thus we sailed some 20 leagues vp the river to Herne=Iland, so called for infinite swarmes of hernes thereon, this we called St Clements, here we first came ashoare; here by the overturning of a shallop wch we had allmost lost our mades which wee brought along, the linnen, they went to wash was much of it lost, which is noe small matter in these parte: the ground is heare, (as in very many places covered with pokiberies, (a little wilde walnut hard of shell, but with a sweet kernell) with ackhornes, black walnut, cedar, saxafras, vines, salladherbes, and such like; it is not above 400 acres, and therefore too little to seat vpon for vs: therefore they have designed it for a fort to Command the river, meaneing to raise another on the maine land against it, and soe to keep the river from forraigne trade, here being the narrowest of the river: in this place on our b: Ladies day in lent, we first offered, erected a crosse, and with devotion tooke solemne possession of the Country: here our governour was aduised not to settle himselfe, till he spoake with the emperour of Pascatoway, and told him the cause of his comeing (to wit) to teach them a divine doctrine, whereby to lead them to heaven, and to enrich with such ornaments of civill life as our owne country

abounded withall, not doubting but this emperour beinge satisfied, the other kings would be more peaceable, with this intention he tooke our pinnace and went therein higher vp the river, in their way they found still all the Indians fleede from their houses; till comeing to Patomecke towne, he found there the king thereof a Childe, gouerned by Archihoe, his vncle: here, by an Interpretour, they had some speech with Archihoe (a graue and considerate man, and shewed his errours in part vnto him, which he seemed to acknowledge, bidding them all very welcome; they cōuld p̄ceed but little with him in matters of religion, their interpretors being a p̄testant of Virginia, but promised shortly to returne to him, some one or other; which he desired they would and promised they should have the best entertainment they could make them and his men should hunt and fish for them, and he and they would devide what soever they got, being (as they all generally be) of a very loveing and kinde nature ffrom here they went to Pascatoway, the seat of the Emperour, where 500 bowmen came to meet them at the water side, here the Emperour, lesse feareing then the rest came privately aboard, where he found kind vsage, and p̄ceiveing we came with good meaneing towards them, gave leave to vs to sett downe where we pleased; the king being aboard, his men by the water side feared some treason, till by interpretours, we assured them otherwise. In this iourney our gouernour tooke Captaine Henrie ffleet, and his 3 barkes, who had beene a firebrand to inflame the Indians against vs. this Capt: brought aboard our shipp accepted of a p̄portion in our beaver trade, for to serve my Lord, excellent in language, love, and experience with the Indians, most of all other, thus he remained, vntill haveing talked with Claborne, another of our chiefe enemies, he revolted, and leaveing vs went againe

and traded with out leave, and got that time above 200 skins, and as we feared incensed the Indians against vs; yet first he had brought vs to as noble a seat as could be wished, and as good ground as I suppose is in all Europe; whilest our gouernour was abroad, the Indians began to loose feare and come to our coart of guarde, and sometimes aboard our shipp, wondering where that tree should grow, out of which so great a canow should be hewen, supposing it all of one peece, as their canows vse to be, they trembled to heare our ordinance thinking them fearefuller then any thunder they had ever heard: the governour being returned from Pascatoway, by ffleets directions, we came some 9 or 10 leagues lower in the riuer Patomecke; to a lesser riuer on the north side of it, as bigge as Thames, which we call St Georges, this riuer makes 2 excellent bayes, wherein might harbour 300 saile of 1000 tunne a peece with very great safetie, the one called St Georges bay, the other, more inward St Maries, on the one side of this river lives the king of Yoacomaco, on the other our plantation is seated, about halfe a mile from the water, and our towne we call St Maries. To avoid all occasion of dislike, and Colour of wrong we bought the space of thirtie miles of ground of them, for axes, hoes, cloth and hatchets, which we call Augusto Carolino: it made them more willing to enterteine vs, for that they had warres wth the Sasquasahannockes, who come sometimes vpon them, and waste and spoile them and their country, for thus they hope by our meanes to be safe. God disposeing things thus for those which were to come to bring the light of his holy law to these distressed, poore infidels, so that they doe indeed like vs better for comeing so well provided assuring themselves of greater safety, by liveing by vs. Is not this miraculous that a nation a few daies before in generall armes against vs,

and our enterprise should like lambes yeeld themselves, glad of our company, giveing vs houses land, and liveings for a trifle, Digitus dei est hic, and some great good is meant toward this people: some few Indians are here to stay by vs till next yeare, and then the land is wholy to be ours alone. The natives of p̄son be very p̄per and tall men, by nature swarthy, but much more by art, painting themselves with colours in oile a darke read, especially about the head, which they doe to keep away the gnats, wherein I confesse there is more ease then honesty; as for their faces they vse sometimes other colours, as blew from the nose downeward, and read vpward, and sometimes contrary wise with great variety, and in gastly manner, they have noe bearde till they be very old, but insteed thereof sometimes draw long lines with colours from the sides of their mouth to their eares, they weare their diuersly some haveing it cut all short, one halfe of the head, and long on the other; others have it all long, but generally they weare all a like at the left eare, and sometimes at both eares which they fold vp with a string of wampampeake or roanoake about it: some of their Caucorouses as they terme them, or great men weare the forme of a fish of Copper in their foreheads; they all weare beade about their neckes, men and women, with otherwhiles a haukes bill or the talents of an eagles or the teeth of beasts, or sometimes a pare of great eagles wings linked together and much more of the like; their apparell is deere skins and other furrs, which they weare loose like mantles, vnder which all their women, and those which are come to mans stature weare peizomata of skins, which keep them decently covered from all offence of sharpe eies, all the rest are naked, and sometimes the men of the younger sort weare nothing at all; their weapons are a bow and bundle of arrowes, an ell long, feathered with turkies

feathers, and headed with points of deeres hornes, peeces of glasse, or flints, which they make fast with an excellent glew which they have for that purpose, the shaft is a small cane or sticke, wherewith I have seeme them kill at 20 yards distance, little birds of the bignesse of sparrows, and they vse to practise themselves by casting vp small stickes in the aire, and meeting it with an arrow before it come to ground: their bow is but weake and shoots level but a little way, they daily catch partridge, deere, turkies, squirrels and the like of which there is wonderfull, but as yet we dare not venture ourselves in the woods to seeke them, nor have we leasure; their houses are built in an halfe ovall forme 20 foot long, and 9 or 10 foot high with a place open in the top, halfe a yard square, whereby they admit the light, and let forth the smoake, for they build their fire, after the manner of ancient halls of England, in the middle of the house, about which they lie to sleep vpon mats, spread on a low scaffold hafe a yard from ground: in one of these houses we now doe celebrate, haveing it dressed a little better then by the Indians, till we get a better, which shall be shortly as may be: the naturall wit of these men is good, conceiueing a thing quick to; they excell in smell and taste, and have farre sharper sight then we have their diett is poane, made of wheat, and hominie, of the same with pease and beanes together, to which sometimes they add fish, foule, and venison, especially at solemne feasts: they are very tempate from wines and hote waters, and will hardly taste them, save those whome our English have carrupted: for chastity I never see any action in man or woman tendinge to soe much as levity, and yet the poore soules are daily with vs and bring vs turkie, partridge, oisters, squirells as good as any rabbit, bread and the like, running to vs with smileing countenance and will help vs in fishing, fouling, hunting, or

what we please: they hold it lawfull to have many wiues, but all keep the rigour of coniugall faith to their husbands the very aspect of the women is modest and grave; they are generally so noble, as you can doe them noe favour, but they will returne it: there is small passion amongst them, they vse in discourse of great affaires to be silent, after a question asked, and then after a little studdie to answere in few words, and stand constant to their resolution; if these were once christian, they would doubtlesse be a vertuous and renowned nation; they exceedingly desire civill life and Christian apparrell and long since had they beene cloathed, had the covetous English merchants (who would exchange cloath for nought but beauer, which every one could not get) held them from it (God forbid we should do the like): as for religion we neither have language as yet to finde it out, nor care wee trust therein the p̄testant interpretours; Mr Altham, hath writ somethin thereof, wch himselfe can witnesse; and likewise Mr Thorowgood, who drive trade with the Indians; They acknowledge one god of heaven, whome they call our god, and crie a 1000 shames on those that so lightly offend soe good a god, but give noe externall honnour to him But vse all their might to please an Okee which signifies a frantique spirit, for feare of harme from him. I heare also, they adore wheat and fire, as gods very beneficiall to mans nature, In the Matchcomaco, or temple of the Patuxans, this ceremonie was seene by our trades; at a day appointed the townes about mett together, and built a great fire, then standinge all about the same, lifted vp their hands to heaven Crieing Taho Taho, after this was brought forth a bagge of Peake, which is their tobacco, with a great tobacco pipe, and carried about the fire, a young man following it, crieing Taho Taho, with great variety of gesture of body, this done they

filled the pipe, and gave to every one a draught of smoake from it which they breathed out on all parts of their bodies, as it were to sanctifie them to the service of their god, this is all I can say, save that we p̄ceive they haue notice by tradition of Noah his flood wee have not beene above one moneth Conversant amongest them and therefore must reserve further particulars to the next ship; I will end therefore with the soyle, which is excellent so that we cannot sett downe a foot, but tread on Strawberries, raspires, fallen mulberrie vines, acchorns, walnutts, saxafras &c: and those in the wildest woods, the ground is commonly a blacke mould above, and a foot within ground of a readish colour; all is high woods except where the Indians haue cleared for corne, it abounds with delicate springs which are our best drinke. Birds diversely feathered there are infinite, as eagles, swans, hernes, geese, bitters, duckes, partridge read, blew, partie coloured, and the like, by which will appeare, the place abounds not alone with p̄fit, but also with pleasure +

LAUS DEO

LETTER FROM SIR RICHARD LECHFORD TO LEONARD CALVERT, DATED 24TH JULY, 1634.

S^r

I received yor ltrēs (about the midle of July and app̄hend very well of our adventures in Mary=land) wth all had tenderd diverse bills of Exchange comēnded vnto my hand by you. Now I thought good to let you vnderstand how vnhappily matters stand wth me first my children the beginnge of March was goinge beyond the seas for Nuns. App̄hended; and examined. wherevppon I was called before the Counsell Board, questioned about my religion, comitted vnto the fleet my place at court taken imēdiatly from me, and there remayned 9 weekes and ever since purcifants and messingers p̄secutinge me; and sometimes the whole Counsell sendinge for me, and sometimes one and sometimes an other vnto their houses where I received many sharpe cheques besides great charge and losse. my estate like wise was beged but unexpectedly p̄served. I haue no time to make any larger discription of my misfortune I giue you now only a touch of it that you may make a favourable construction of me in that I haue not satisfied those bills of exchange you sent me the furrs remayne as yet unsould there prices are so low not aboue 12^d the pound that as yet wilbe giuen. I assure my selfe you conceive my loue and respecte to be such vnto you, that if my p̄sent abillity would have suffrerd me, to haue served you in these demands or any thing else you should have p̄vayled: you writt of a gent who sould his share of adventure vnto you, and will receive his pay in comodities wth you and how I should give my p̄porcon as

before if I fancied the busines; wch I willingely entertayne and will make hard shifte to put in my p̄porc̄on for this increase of truck you writt for and discharge the p̄te of an honest man toward yo^r^selfe and all men else./

Thus prayinge vnto god for his blessinge on vs and all our affayrs. My best loue and service p̄sented vnto you in hast take leave and remayne.

Yo^r^ true and constant frind
to com̄and:
RICHARD LECHFORD.

July this 24 day
1634

(Endorsement.)
To my much honored frind M^r^
Leonard Calvertt in Maryland/
Esqr p̄sent these w^th^
speed

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACTS FROM NOTES FURNISHED BY REV. FATHER THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

De Incunabulis Religionis Christianae in Marylandia. Fragmenta ex Archivio Romano Soc. Jesu Collecta.

This is the title of the MS., marked by Fr. A. Gerste, as "Incun. Md." It may be the document which corresponds to a note bound into the vol. Epp. Genn. Anglia, vol. 1, "1605–41," at June-July, 1636. The note is: "+ Anglia. Desiderat Pater Noster a P. Compagnoni exquiri in Archivio informationem de origine ac statu Missionis Marinlandiae in America pertinentis ad Provinciam Anglicanam."[1] It consists of 18 pp., small folio, numbered by the investigator, whose own writing is very small. But there, as well as in the 9 pp. of partial or incipient copies from the Declaratio Coloniae, etc., which are marked "Praevia," there appears the large free hand of Fr. Fortis' usual amanuensis. Up to 1698, the archivist has made

[1]All things considered, the document seems to be of the twenties or thirties of this century, though, strange to say, I do not find the name of Fr. Compagnoni in Vivier's new work: Vita functi in Societate Jesu, 1814–1894, Parisiis, 1897. (4to. 763 pp.)

A document I find in the Archives, École Ste. Geneviéve, Rue Lhomond, Paris, shows that the occasion for drawing up these fragments may have been not Fr. MacSherry's enquiries, but Crétineau-Joli's necessities for his Histoire de la Cie de J. It is the 4to Vol.: "2. États-Unis, a. Maryland. b. Missouri," where on 2nd fol. enclosed in fol. numbered 7, the writer adds to his MS.: "Mr. Crétineau trouvera—à ce qu'il me parait —bien des choses et des pensées utiles à l'histoire" (he is speaking of Fr. Dubuisson's Autograph "Notices sur les Jésuites aux États-Unis"): "il est prié pourtant d'avoir soin, que tant de manuscrit du P. Dubuisson, que ces feuilles sur le Maryland soient renvoyées à Rome: puisque ce n'est pas un extrait d'une histoire de Province ou de lettres annuelles; mais une collection de notices dispersées dans des certaines de lettres particulières."

Hence I infer that this French doct. in "2. États-Unis," that all the Italian "cenni" in "3-" and "4-États-Unis," as well as the "Incunabula Fragmenta," were drawn up on occasion of Crétineau-Joli's history. Besides, the French and Italian MSS. draw very largely and very accurately on sources of knowledge which could only be had by Americans, or by Fathers who had been in America.

a careful search into the Epp. Gen.,[2] and been rather successful in finding passages. The extracts from Ann. Lett. do not go beyond that date; the last note being about the death of Fr. John Matthews, 1694.

There are guiding lines of inclusion and exclusion, between extracts from Epp. Gen. and notes about facts, which I suspect were drawn by Br. Foley; to judge by what Br. Foley has, and what he has omitted.

In my copies from "Maryland Mission Catalogues," I have given the bibliography of the Anglia Histor., 9 vol.; wherein I have now identified what Br. Foley has already in print, as well as the Maryland Historical Society Publication, edited by Dalrymple, 1874. Some of the results of this comparison are given in the following notes.

Anglia Histor., 1628–1644, Vol. IV. Litt. Ann. S. J. Prou. Angl. 1634, pp. 465 seqq. P. 470: Bona regis gratia atque auctoritate anno proximo, Catholici cuiusdam Baronis auspiciis ducta est in citeriores Americae oras Anglorum magnam partem Catholicorum non contemnenda colonia; profecti simul bini Sacerdotes e Nostris cum vno Coadiutore, alius deinde Sacerdos, aliusque Coadiutor subsecuti, quibus id propositum est ut non tantummodo apud cives operam collocent, sed Barbarorum etiam conuersioni ac saluti procurandae sese addicant. Ad promovendum hoc tam pium incoeptum pecunias ac famulos, qui imprimis ibidem sunt necessarii, plures Catholici perquam liberaliter contulerunt. Famulo cuidam haud sine Diuina (p. 471) Prouidentia videtur contigisse, ut a Nostris qui vltimo discesserunt reperiretur: nouerat eum Frater noster in Belgio, ac virum industrium ac fidum compererat: quare dum se ad profectionem parat, nullam in eo conquirendo diligentiam omittit; cumque iam nulla spes reliqua hominis inueniendi videretur, conscensa naui, quae in plures colonias recentia vehebat supplementa, in hominem inexpectato incidit. Deuenerat is propter liberam Fidei professionem in extremam calamitatem, maxime quod Sacramento, quod vocant Fidelitatis, nullo pacto sese vellet astringere: quare e Regno cum mercatore quodam Haeretico, ipsius arbitrio in aliquam Haereticam coloniam vendendus pro more obibat, cum agnitum Frater redimit, et tanquam ex ipsis Orci faucibus ereptum, et incredibili gaudio perfusum itineris sibi comitem adiungit. Bini praeterea Sacerdotes nostri comites hoc anno dati cuidam viro Nobili, qui incognitas terras[3] exploratum iuerat, ii octo circiter mensium nauigatione licet incom-

[2] My reference "Epp. Gen." means Letters *by* the Generals S. J.

[3] I do not know whether the writer is referring to America, to Maryland, or to some other country. Perhaps this explains the appearance of Frs. Alexander Baker and John Drury as being in Maryland, 1634, and their being no longer there in the next account. See Anglia Catalogos, 1634, 1636, infra.

moda, ambo valetudine, et grauibus morbis vicissim tentati magno animo perfuncti sunt, et de copiosa olim messe in amplis et praeclaris Regionibus spem non leuem nobis iniecerunt.

(This is under the head: Domus Probationis Sti. Ignatii cum Missione Londinensi.)

Incunab. etc. ex Arch. Romano, etc.: P. 13: Anno 1655. Nova oritur persecutio. Ad hanc forte persecutionem (continues bottom of p. 14, margin), vel ad illam quam memoravimus sub anno 1645, (scil . . when White and Fisher were carried off and indicted) probabiliter referendum est quod legitur in catalogo quodam apud Nostros in Marilandia servato: "P. Pulton forte necatus in Comitatu Sanctae Mariae.—P. Pelcome celebris controvista et orator submersus in Mylords' run."

(N. B.—Does this indicate, that Fr. McSherry, e. g., was in Rome, when these Fragments were being taken; and supplied this from memory or from notes?)

The indictment of White and Fisher is copied in my Ms. notes. The one noteworthy point is that "gentilitio nomine Cappecius or Coppecius," for Fisher;[4] and the plea they made good according to the terms of the law.

Angl. Hist. Vol. V. An. Dom. 1656; pp. 583–4, and 587. P. 584: Mortui sunt ex Prouincia 13; quorum unus est Vir multis excellens virtutibus, P. Andreas Vitus. De cujus exitu illud est memorabile. Perdiu toto corpore adeo languebat, vt nullo non die moriturus crederetur . . . etc.—See Foley, iii, p. 338.[5] The incident in the gaol is here:—Foley, ibid.

LL. ann. 1676, p. 830: Missio Marilandica tribus Sacerdotibus et duobus Coadjutoribus Temporalibus.

LL. ann. 1677, p. 840. Six members with two accessions (as in Baltim. pamphlet). See also Foley, ubi sup. P. 835: Reliqui 150 Angliam ipsam incolunt et Missionem Marilandicam, qui omnes Sacerdotes sunt praeter unicum Scholasticum valetudinarium, et Sacris nondum initiatum, Coadjutores Temporales tres.

[4] The passage is this: (Speaking of the Civil War and the Parliamentarians.) The Annual Letter for 1645 (Anglia. Histor. V. p. 863), says: atque in Marylandiam usque penetravit malum, ubi zelosi quidam heretici, rem gratam se facturos existimantes Parlamento, Catholicorum coloniam invadentes. Patres inde duos abstraxerunt in Angliam: Andream Vitum, et Philippum Fisherum, qui gentilitio nomine Coppecius vocabatur.

See my note infra to the name P. Thomas Fisherus, in Catal. Angl. 1647 et 1648. (p. 56.)

[5] Fr. Andrew White is in England: in 1648, under "Collegium Immaculatae Conceptionis cum Missionibus, Nottingamiensi et Darbiensi"; in 1649, "Domus Probationis S. Ignatii cum Missione Londinensi."

(The following are loosely connected notes in Incunabula: Fragmenta; as described above:)

Loose sheet, not numbered. But the first paragraph is also in its place, under 1681, p. 17:—

1681. Ex litteris annuis Manuscriptis: "Marylandica missio floret; quam ibi fecerunt Patres Nostri sementem in copiosam segetem excrescit, et amplam olim messem pollicetur. Ante quadriennium (so far is excluded by a line, which I suspect is Br. Foley's) apertam illic in media Barbarie humaniorum litterarum scholam duo regunt et juventus illic nata supra modum litteris dedita proficit. Duos illa Missio, illa recens nata Schola, Audomarum transmisit, qui paucis Europaeis ingenio cedant, cum suae classis primis de Palma contendant. Unde colligimus non auri tantum et argenti aut aliarum terrae frugum, sed et hominum ad virtutem et altiores disciplinas factorum regiones illas quae immerito barbarae audiunt esse feracissimas. Submissi eo hoc anno duo, qui laborantes in illa amplissima Domini vinea sublevent." (From the word apertam, fourth line, to end of paragraph, the writing is that of Fr. Fortis' amanuensis.)

(The loose sheet goes on, in another paragraph.) Maxima contentio de bonis exstitit. Societatis hostes immensas opes ab ea possideri, quaeque exercitui alendo fere sufficerent, invidiose sparserant versa in Societatis perniciem ipsa Patrum Nostrorum beneficentia, qui recurrentibus ad se petitum subsidium prompte subveniebant ac largiter pro tenuibus facultatibus suis, cum tamen certum sit, istos aut fallere aut falli (sic) quia quidquid in insula possidet vix ad centum alendos sufficiat. Quod si spectemus quid ex procuratorum ignorantia pereat, quid ex rusticorum avaritia reditus annuos retinentium amittatur, quid in Juris peritos expendatur, ne fundus ipse eripiatur, longe paucioribus sufficiet, nisi ipsa (sic) se industria juvent.—Pleraque in discrimen vocate sunt, quae aegre tuemur; aliqua periere; tandem in Dei bonitate confidimus, quod donec (?) spiritualia seminaverimus, abunde carnalia metemus, et quaerentibus regnum Dei coetera adjicienter. Interea habentes victum sobrium et parcum et vestitum honestum, his contenti sumus.

Natura in qua Societas fere sola laboravit, non quidem pro Missionis salute indorum indigenarum sed ipsorum Anglorum qui magno numero ibi reperiuntur.

Persecutionis acerbitas multa documenta ademit (?), scrinia omnia cum chartis et observationibus discerpta, adeo ut mirum non sit hic desiderari, quae uti speramus, scripta sunt in libro vitae.

1687—3 peres; et des 1683 cette mission est mentionnée dans les Catalogues.

P. 18, last page of numbered series; ad calc.;—

N. B.—In manuscripto catalogo de quo memoravimus pag. 14—(See above, p. 51)—Reperiuntur ab anno 1633 ad 1674, nomina 12 Sacerdotum missorum ex Anglia

1674	"	1700	"	9
1700	"	1730	"	19
1730	"	1750	"	23
1750	"	1773	"	28
				91

Sed ex aliis monumentis quae sunt in Archivio Romano, constat desiderari in hoc Marilandico scripto plura nomina saltem usque ad annum 1700.—Insuper in hoc numero non comprehenduntur Coadjutores Temporales.

(Sic videtur explici id quod haberi potest hic de rebus Marylandiae.
Sequuntur aliqua ad cognatas res spectantia ex iisdem monumentis: Hist. Angl.:—)

Angl. Catal. 1632-80: Catal. 3 Pers. S. J. in Prou. Angliae 1634. 1634
In Missione Marilandiae.

1. P. Andreas Vitus, Superior.
2. P. Joannes Grauenerius.
3. P. Alexander Bakerus.[6]
4. P. Joannes Drureus.[6]
5. Thomas Geruasii.

Angl. Catal. 1622-1649: Catal. Primus Pers. . . . 1633.

Dom. Prob. Sti. Ign. cum Miss. Londinensi.

P. Alexander Bakerus, Norfolciensis, 48, bonae, 20, omnia; fuit Procurator, Minister, Consultor, Confessarius, Superior missionis; in missione an. 10. Professus 4 votor. 1627, 23 Maii.

Dom. tertiae probationis Gandensis.

P. 48. n. 6. P. Joannes Drurius, Londinensis, 28, mediocres, 7, 3 Philosophiae, 2 Theologiae, Casus. Est Minister.

(N. B.—Neither of these two is recognized by Foley as having been in Maryland.)

[6] See note 3 above (p. 50).

Angl. Catal. 1623–39. Catal. Tertius Pers. . . . 1636. 1636

In Missione Marilandiae.

1. P. Philippus Fisherus, Superior.
2. P. Andreas Vitus.
3. P. Joannes Knowles.
4. P. Joannes Grauenerius.
5. Thomas Geruasii, Coadiutor.

Ibid.: Supplem. 1. & 2 Catal. Pers. . . . 1636.

In Marilandiam missi duo:

P. Philippus Fisherus.

P. Joannes Knowles.

Duo item inde reversi:

P. Franciscus Rogerius.

Joannes Wooddus.

Catal. 22–49: Primus Person. 1636.

P. 10. n. 16. (Colleg. SS. Apostolorum cum Mjss. Suffolc.:) P. Franc. Rogerius, Norfolciensis, 37, Firmae, 13, omnia, Docuit Grammcam. In Miss. ann. 2.

Ibid.: Ibid.

P. 66. 29. (Semin. Audomar.::) Joan. Woodus, Deuoniensis, 46, firmae, 21; fuit coquus, emptor, infirmarius, curator hospitum. Formatus 1630, 8 Dec.

Angl. Catal. 1622–49: Catal. Primus Pers. S. J. etc. 1639. 1639.

P. 35. Missio Marilandica.

1. P. Joannes Brocus. Buckingamensis, 40, firmae, 17, oia. Fuit Minister, Praef. morum in Semin. Confess. studios. Consultor. Jam est Superior in Mariland. Prof. 4 vot. 8 Dec. 1635.

N. B. ad calc. previous page: In the Catal. Primus, 1636, there are

Joan. Rogerius, Senior,

Joan. Rogerius, Junior,

Francisc. Rogerius; all in different places:

Wilt. J. R. Sen. p. 31, 2, Res. St. Thomae. Wall. J. R. Jun. p. 7. 34 Dom. S. Ign. C. Mss. Lon. Norf. Fr. Rogerius, Coll. SS. Apost. Suff.

2. P. Philippus Fisherus, etc., uti supra. . . . Prof. 4 vot. 26 Oct. 1630.
3. P. And. Vitus . . . Prof. 4 vot. 13 Junii (sic) 1619.
4. P. Joannes Grauenerius, etc., ubi supra.
5. Gualterus Morlaeus, Londonensis, 49, robustae, 21, est caementarius, et fuit in variis Coadi. officiis. Formatus, 8 Dec. 1629.

Angl. 1623–39. Catalog. 3us. rerum Prou. Angl. 1639.

. . . In missione Marylandica 5 . . .

Angl. 1623–39. Supplement. 1. & 2 catal. pers. . . . 1638. 1638.

Mortui 20:

1. Thomas Geruasii, defunctus est in Marilandia mense Augusti, 1637.
2. P. Joannes Knowles, ibidem 24 Septembris, 1637.

Ibid.: Catal. 3 pers. . . . 1638.

Missio Marilandica.

1. P. Joannes Brookus, Superior.
2. P. Philippus Fisherus.
3. P. Andreas Vitus.
4. P. Joannes Grauenerius.
5. Gualterus Morlaeus.

Angl. Catal. 1639–49. Catal. 1. . . . 1639.

P. 54, n. 25 (Watten:) Thomas Bradfordus, Cantabrigiensis, 27, integrae 2, est sartor.

Angl. Catal. 1632–80. Catalogus 3us Pers. . . . 1644 et 45. 1644–5.

P. 126. Missio Marilandica.

1. P. Bernardus Hartwellus Superior.—(Ex catal. 1. 1642:) Formatus 8 Sept. 1641.
2. P. And. Vitus.
3. P. Rogerius Rigbaeus. (Ibid. 1649:) Profess. 4 vot. 17 Junii 1645.
4. P. Philippus Fisherus.
5. P. Joannes Cooperus. (Ibid. '42:) Formatus 22 Junii 1641.

Ibid. Catal. 3us. Pers. 1645.

P. 143. Missio Marilandica.

1. P. Bernardus Hartwellus, Superior.
2. P. Joannes Cooperus.

P. 137. Dom. Prob. S. Ign. cum Miss. Londinensi.

11. P. Andreas Vitus.
13. P. Rogerius Rigbaeus.
14. P. Philippus Fisherus.

Ibid.: Catal. brevis Pers. 1646 et 1647. 1646 & 47.

P. 163. Missio Marilandica.

1. P. Bernardus Hartwellus, Superior.
2. P. Joannes Cooperus.
3. P. Rogerus Rigbaeus.

P. 155. Dom. Prob. S. Ign. cum M. Lond.

18. P. Philippus Fisherus.

19. P. Andreas Vitus.

Ibid.: Catal. 3us. Pers. . . . 1647 et 1648. 1647 & 48.

Missio Marilandica (omitted; and those three names above do not appear anywhere).

P. 175. Dom. Prob. . . . Lond.

P. Andreas Vitus.

P. Thomas (sic) Fisherus; (I do not see Philip Fisher anywhere: is this name Thomas a reversion to Thomas Copley, or has Fr. Phil. Fisher gone back to Maryland?)

Ibid.: Catal. 3. Pers. . . . 1648.

P. 202. In Marilandia.

1. P. Philippus Fisherus, Superior.

2. P. Laurentius Sanchius.

P. 193. Coll. Imm. Conc. cum MM. Notting. Darb.

4. P. And. Vitus, Consultor.

(The other three, Hartwell, Cooper and Rigby, do not appear anywhere —not mortui.)

Catal. 1us. Pers. 1645. (in Catal. Ang. 1639–49) P. 13, n. 12. Laurentius Sanchius Lancast. 39, validae, 9, omnia, in Miss. ann. 7:—Mediocre, simile, nihilo maior, aliqua, tenuis, melanchol. ad missiones. In Coll. B. Aloys. cum MM. Lancastriensi et Stafford.

APPENDIX B.

ADDITIONAL NOTES FROM REV. THOMAS HUGHES, S. J.

Variations noted in the Dalrymple Balt. pamphlet:—Relatio . . . . Maryl. Corrections ex Anglia Histor. IV., pp. 413–440.

(N. B.—I merely ran over such *Notes* in the pamphlet as suggested a verification. I did not compare texts, word by word.)

As to the document itself, it is evidently a copy. The writing is very clear, like copperplate, but with old turns and abbreviations. The handwriting and the corrosive ink used are the same as those of Anglia Histor. III. pp. 173–236. (See Md. Incunabula, supra, p. 2, n. 1.) The lines drawn in the document,—the Relatio itself,—marking the parts to be omitted, and even single sentences, correspond to what has been omitted in the other doc't. Nothing else in this copy of *Relatio* to determine its authorship or exact date.

(Cf. Balt. pamphlet, p. 121.[1])

P. 16, l. 13. Ut in aqua disc*as*, dum.

P. 18, l. 3. The blank is to be filled out: *Jsom.*

P. 21, l. 12 et seq. The lines in parenthesis are supplied by another hand, over the line, and in the margin, excepting the word "revera."

P. 23, l. 20. *Nefrendem* unum . . . . licitabant (a separate sentence).

P. 24, l. 19. latitudo *15*.

P. 25, l. 12. Lecti sunt stragula. ("Sunt" is not in parenthesis.)

P. 26, l. 19. qui *Gnauar*[2] dicitur.

P. 26, l. 21. *Pupaes* colore est et forma non absimili.

P. 27, l. 6. *o*perosiore.

P. 32, l. 6. Clementis nomine appellavimus. Secundam Stae. Catherinae. Tertiam Stae. Caeciliae. Descendimus primum ad Sti. Clementis, ad quam nisi . . . .

P. 38, l. 22. lorum. ("(telo)" is not in text).

[1] The reference is to Fund Publication, No. 7.

[2] *Guavar* probably intended.

P. 40, l. 11. piscati fuerint, Ciba etiam aliquando, et ostroea Coeta, vel arsa, idque paucis. (Something really seems to be omitted.)

P. 41, l. 16. (agnoscunt, quem Deum nostrum vocant; nullum tamen honorem) exter*n*um.

P. 41, l. 22. Barc*l*uxem.

P. 42, l. 6 and 12. *T*aho, *T*aho.

(Cf. Balt. pamphlet, p. 124.[1]) On the Declaratio.

The copy of the Declaratio is in a free, easy hand, altogether different from that of the Relatio.

Corrections ex Anglia Histor. IV, pp. 877–880:—

P. 46, l. 19. "*2000* jugerum."

P. 48, l. 20. "Chesa-peack *12,000* passum."

P. 49, l. 1. "Pilawase."

P. 49, l. 15. "Attowomec."

P. 50, l. 14. "Sinegma."

P. 50, l. 21. "Incolae Mesamines vocant."

P. 51, l. 4. "Sturiones, Trurcices (Turcices?) Phocanae, Aristoci, Squillae, torpedines, Trutae, Melamurae trium generum, Erechini, Rubelliones, albi Salmones Conchae, Cochleae, et alii."

P. 51, l. 19. quotannis 5 vel 600 millia deportantur.

P. 51, l. 22. Curios, Castores, ffibros, Vulpes, Martiches.

P. 52, l. 10. (The parenthesis, "piscibus . . . coloris," not in text.)

P. 52, l. 27. pomis granatis aureis.

The explicit, p. 53 (Balt. pampl.[1]), and the two little paragraphs, p. 43, are not of course in the text.

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[1] The reference is to Fund Publication, No. 7.

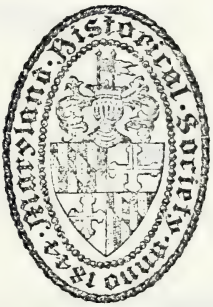
EARLY MARYLAND POETRY.

THE WORKS OF EBENEZER COOK, GENT: LAUREAT OF MARYLAND, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE MOUSETRAP, EDITED BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fund Publication, No. 36.

EARLY MARYLAND POETRY



THE WORKS OF EBENEZER COOK, GENT: LAUREAT OF MARYLAND, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE MOUSETRAP, EDITED BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

Baltimore, 1900.

PRINTED FOR

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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I. INTRODUCTION.

In 1708, Ebenezer Cook, Gent., of whom we know nothing certainly save what can be gathered from his works, published in London a short satirical poem called the "Sot-Weed Factor." It may be useful to explain this title. In the Provincial days of Maryland, a factor was an agent of an English merchant, and sot-weed, *i. e.*, the weed which makes men besotted, was a slang name for tobacco, the staple of the Province. The poem contained twenty-one pages and purported to be a narrative of the experiences of the author in Maryland, whither he had come from England to "open store." Disgusted with the Province, he returned to England and drew a most unflattering picture of the new country, being a predecessor of Mrs. Trollope, Dickens, and the long line of Englishmen who brought back unfavorable impressions of America. Moses Coit Tyler in his fascinating *History of American Literature* (Vol. II, p. 255) characterizes the work as an "obvious extravaganza," in which a "vein of genuine and powerful satire is struck." In this verdict, every reader must join, though his further statement that the "autobiographic narrative" is "probably only a part of its robust and jocular mirth," will be questioned by many of us, who feel that there is convincing evidence in the story of the reality of some of the adventures described.

The work was reprinted in 1865 under the editorship of Col. Brantz Mayer, as number two of Shea's *Reprints of Southern Tracts.* Ten copies were issued on large, and one hundred and twenty-five on small paper. Mr. Mayer states that the poem had been reprinted, with a poem on Bacon's Rebellion, by Mr. Green, at Annapolis, in 1731. I have never seen the reprint but imagine that either the date, or the name of the printer, must have been incorrectly copied by Mr. Mayer, as Jonas Green did not come to Annapolis until 1740, and William Parks is the only printer

commonly supposed to have been there in 1731. Mr. Mayer says that this eighteenth century reprinter "cautiously reminds the reader" that the description was written twenty years ago and "did not agree with the condition of Annapolis," at the time of the reprint. The present is probably the fourth edition of the "Sot-Weed Factor."

Twenty-two years later, in 1730, William Parks, at Annapolis, printed for the author, "E. C. Gent," a poem of twenty-eight pages. The poem was entitled "Sot-Weed Redivivus," and the name of the poem, as well as the initials of the author, would make clear to us, what is made clearer by the poem, that it is either the work of our Ebenezer Cook, or of a clever imitator. Prof. Tyler considers that this poem lacks the wit of the earlier one (II, p. 260). We allow each reader to decide this point for himself. It will be noted that, instead of devoting all his attention to social life, the Sot-weed Factor discusses political affairs in the second poem. As far as I know, "Sot-Weed Redivivus" had never been reprinted, and is now reproduced from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, to whose owner, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, and librarian, Mr. George P. Winship, our thanks are due for courtesies shown us.

It is possible that Ebenezer Cooke, an inhabitant of St. Mary's City in 1693, was the poet (*Md. Arch.*, Vol. 19, p. 75).

In the *Maryland Gazette* for December 17 to 24, 1728, published by William Parks, at Annapolis, is contained an Elegy on the Hon. Nicholas Lowe. This poem occupies an entire column of the paper and is signed by the well-known initials, E. C. This fact and the character of the poem readily induce us to attribute it to Ebenezer Cook, and it is reprinted here as the third of his works. To the initials in this case, however, is appended the mysterious word "Laureat." Of what was Cook the laureate? Can it be that Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore and fourth Lord Proprietary of the Province of Maryland, had appointed Cook his laureate, in imitation of the practice of the English royal court? Did he choose an official to prepare poems for solemn occasions of the State, as he did a chaplain? No answer to these queries has been found; but, as Col. Lowe was a member of His Lordship's Council, there is some plausibility in the claim that here was an official laureate in Maryland. This elegy had never

been reprinted, and my attention was called to it by that indefatigable student of Maryland history, Mr. Basil Sollers.

These constitute the only known works of Cook, but it has seemed worth while to add, as an appendix, a little poem entitled the "Mousetrap," being a translation of a Latin poem called "Muscipula." This poem is not of so great interest in itself, but seems worth reprinting, as the first literary production of Maryland's press, and as containing a long dedication to Benedict Leonard Calvert, then Governor of Maryland. This dedication deals with the condition of affairs in the Province, and throws some interesting side lights thereupon. The copy in the possession of the Society lacks a title page, but from Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana* we learn that the original Latin poem was written by Holdsworth, and that the translation was made by R. Lewis. As to who Lewis was, we know nothing, but his notes show him to have been a man of education and culture. Sabin speaks of the poem as of "great rarity." He adds, "It has a Latin as well as an English title. The three lines in Greek letters in the Latin title are supplied with a pen, the printer probably not having any Greek type." The same is true of the Greek word in page 43 of the notes.

Here, then, is the beginning of literary life in the Province of Maryland. The reed on which the poets played may have been a slender one, but it was the first one heard among the plantations and the forests which bordered the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. It is believed that these poems throw important light on the social life of the Province in the early years of the eighteenth century.

Messrs. William Hand Browne, Kirby F. Smith and Christopher Johnston have kindly assisted in the preparation of this publication.

The editor's notes are marked in the text by numerals enclosed in brackets.

The pagination, capitalization and spelling of the original text is carefully preserved. In "Sot-Weed Redivivus" and the Dedication and poetical text of "Muscipula," the side paging is that of the original edition. The reprint of the "Sot-Weed Factor" in 1865 was inexact in many particulars. This reprint carefully follows the John Carter Brown copy. The signature letters and catchwords at the foot of the pages and the symbol VV for W have not been reproduced.

THE

Foot-boxed Factor:

Or, a Voyage to

MARYLAND.

A

SATYR.

In which is describ'd,

The Laws, Government, Courts and Constitutions of the Country; and also the Buildings, Feasts, Frolicks, Entertainments and Drunken Humours of the Inhabitants of that Part of *America*.

In Burlesque Verse.

By *Eben. Cook*, Gent.

LONDON:

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THE

Sot-weed Factor;

Or, a Voyage to

Maryland, &c.

CONDEMN'D by Fate to way-ward Curse,
Of Friends unkind, and empty Purse;
Plagues worse than fill'd *Pandora*'s Box,
I took my leave of *Albion*'s Rocks:
With heavy Heart, concern'd that I
Was forc'd my Native Soil to fly,
And the *Old World* must bid good-buy.
But Heav'n ordain'd it should be so,
And to repine is vain we know:
Freighted with Fools, from *Plymouth* sound,
To *Mary-Land* our Ship was bound,
Where we arriv'd in dreadful Pain,
Shock'd by the Terrours of the Main;
For full three Months, our waveriug Boat,
Did thro' the surley Ocean float,
And furious Storms and threat'ning Blasts,
Both tore our Sails and sprung our Masts:

Wearied, yet pleas'd, we did escape
Such Ills, we anchor'd at the (a) *Cape;* [1]
But weighing soon, we plough'd the *Bay,*
To (b) Cove it in (c) *Piscato-way,*[2]
Intending there to open Store,
I put myself and Goods a-shore:
Where soon repair'd a numerous Crew,
In Shirts and Drawers of (d) *Scotch-cloth* Blue.
With neither Stockings, Hat, nor Shooe.
These *Sot-weed* [3] Planters Crowd the Shoar,
In Hue as tawny as a Moor:
Figures so strange, no God design'd,
To be a part of Humane Kind:
But wanton Nature, void of Rest,
Moulded the brittle Clay in Jest.
At last a Fancy very odd
Took me, this was the Land of *Nod;*
Planted at first, when Vagrant *Cain,*
His Brother had unjustly slain:
Then conscious of the Crime he'd done,
From Vengeance dire, he hither run;
And in a Hut supinely dwelt,
The first in *Furs* and *Sot-weed* dealt.
And ever since his Time, the Place,
Has harbour'd a detested Race;
Who when they cou'd not live at Home,
For Refuge to these Worlds did roam;
In hopes by Flight they might prevent,
The Devil and his fell intent;
Obtain from Tripple Tree [4] repreive,
And Heav'n and Hell alike deceive:
But e're their Manners I display,
I think it fit I open lay
My Entertainment by the way;
That Strangers well may be aware on,
What homely Diet they must fare on.

(a) By the Cape, is meant the *Capes* of *Virginia,* the first Land on the Coast of *Virginia* and *Mary-Land.*

(b) To *Cove* is to lie at Anchor safe in Harbour.

(c) The Bay of *Piscato-way,* the usual place where our Ships come to an Anchor in *Mary-Land.*

(d) The Planters generally wear Blue *Linnen.*

To touch that Shoar, where no good Sense is found,
But Conversation's lost, and Manners drown'd.
I crost unto the other side,
A River [5] whose impetuous Tide,
The Savage Borders does divide;
In such a shining odd invention,
I scarce can give its due Dimention.
The *Indians* call this watry Waggon
(e) *Canoo*, a Vessel none can brag on;
Cut from a *Popular-Tree*, or *Pine*,
And fashion'd like a Trough for Swine:
In this most noble Fishing-Boat,
I boldly put myself a-float;
Standing Erect, with Legs stretch'd wide,
We paddled to the other side:
Where being Landed safe by hap,
As *Sol* fell into *Thetis* Lap.
A ravenous Gang bent on the stroul,
Of (f) Wolves for Prey, began to howl;
This put me in a pannick Fright,
Least I should be devoured quite:
But as I there a musing stood,
And quite benighted in a Wood,
A Female Voice pierc'd thro' my Ears,
Crying, *You Rogue drive home the Steers.*
I listen'd to th' attractive sound,
And straight a Herd of Cattel found
Drove by a Youth, and homewards bound:
Cheer'd with the sight, I straight thought fit,
To ask where I a Bed might get.
The surley Peasant bid me stay,
And ask'd from whom (g) I'de run away.
Surprized at such a saucy Word,
I instantly lugg'd out my Sword;
Swearing I was no Fugitive,
But from *Great-Britain* did arrive,
In hopes I better there might Thrive.
To whichhe mildly made reply,
I beg your Pardon, Sir, *that I*

(e) A *Canoo* is an *Indian* Boat, cut out of the body of a Popler-Tree.
(f) Wolves are very numerous in *Mary-Land.*
(g) 'Tis supposed by the Planters, that all unknown Persons are run away from some Master.

Should talk to you Unmannerly;
But if you please to go with me,
To yonder House, you'll welcome be.
Encountring soon the smoaky Seat,
The Planter old did thus me greet:
"Whether you come from Goal or Colledge,
"You're welcome to my certain Knowledge;
"And if you please all Night to stay,
"My Son shall put you in the way.
Which offer I most kindly took,
And for a Seat did round me look;
When presently amongst the rest,
He plac'd his unknown *English* Guest,
Who found them drinking for a whet,[6]
A Cask of ([h]) Syder on the Fret,[7]
Till Supper came upon the Table,
On which I fed whilst I was able.
So after hearty Entertainment,
Of Drink and Victuals without Payment;
For Planters Tables, you must know,
Are free for all that come and go.
While ([i]) Pon and Milk, with ([k]) Mush well stoar'd,
In wooden Dishes grac'd the Board;
With ([l]) Homine and Syder-pap,
(Which scarce a hungry Dog wou'd lap)
Well stufl'd with Fat, from Bacon fry'd,
Or with *Molossus* dulcify'd.
Then out our Landlord pulls a Pouch,
As greasy as the Leather Couch
On which he sat, and straight begun,
To load with Weed his *Indian* Gun;[8]
In length, scarce longer than ones Finger,
Or that for which the Ladies linger.
His Pipe smoak'd out with aweful Grace,
With aspect grave and solemn pace;
The reverend Sire walks to a Chest,
Of all his Furniture the best,
Closely confin'd within a Room,
Which seldom felt the weight of Broom;

([h]) Syder-pap is a sort of Food made of Syder and small Homine, like our Oatmeal.
([i]) Pon is Bread made of *Indian-Corn.*
([k]) Mush is a sort of Hasty-pudding made with Water and *Indian* Flower.
([l]) Homine is a Dish that is made of boiled *Indian* Wheat, eaten with Molossus, or Bacon-Fat.

From thence he lugs a Cag of Rum,
And nodding to me, thus begun:
I find, says he, you don't much care,
For this our *Indian* Country Fare;
But let me tell you, Friend of mine,
You may be glad of it in time,
Tho' now your Stomach is so fine;
And if within this Land you stay,
You'll find it true what I do say.
This said, the Rundlet up he threw,
And bending backwards strongly drew:
I pluck'd as stoutly for my part,
Altho' it made me sick at Heart,
And got so soon into my Head
I scarce cou'd find my way to Bed;
Where I was instantly convey'd
By one who pass'd for Chamber-Maid;
Tho' by her loose and sluttish Dress,
She rather seem'd a *Bedlam-Bess:*
Curious to know from whence she came,
I prest her to declare her Name.
She Blushing, seem'd to hide her Eyes,
And thus in Civil Terms replies;
In better Times, e'er to this Land,
I was unhappily Trapann'd; [9]
Perchance as well I did appear,
As any Lord or Lady here,
Not then a Slave for twice two ([a]) Year.
My Cloaths were fashionably new,
Nor were my Shifts of Linnen Blue;
But things are changed now at the Hoe,
I daily work, and Bare-foot go,
In weeding Corn or feeding Swine,
I spend my melancholy Time.
Kidnap'd and Fool'd, I hither fled,
To shun a hated Nuptial ([b]) Bed,

([a]) 'Tis the Custom for Servants to be obliged for four Years to very servile Work; after which time they have their Freedom.

([b]) These are the general Excuses made by *English* Women, which are sold, or sell themselves to *Mary-Land.*

And to my cost already find,
Worse Plagues than those I left behind.
Whate'er the Wanderer did profess,
Good-faith I cou'd not choose but guess
The Cause which brought her to this place,
Was supping e'er the Priest said Grace.
Quick as my Thoughts, the Slave was fled,
(Her Candle left to shew my Bed)
Which made of Feathers soft and good,
Close in the (c) Chimney-corner stood;
I threw me down expecting Rest,
To be in golden Slumbers blest:
But soon a noise disturb'd my quiet,
And plagu'd me with nocturnal Riot;
A Puss which in the ashes lay,
With grunting Pig began a Fray;
And prudent Dog, that Feuds might cease,
Most strongly bark'd to keep the Peace.
This Quarrel scarcely was decided,
By stick that ready lay provided;
But *Reynard* arch and cunning Loon,
Broke into my Appartment soon;
In hot pursuit of Ducks and Geese,
With fell intent the same to seize:
Their Cackling Plaints with strange surprize,
Chac'd Sleeps thick Vapours from my Eyes:
Raging I jump'd upon the Floar,
And like a Drunken Saylor Swore;
With Sword I fiercly laid about,
And soon dispers'd the Feather'd Rout:
The Poultry out of Window flew,
And *Reynard* cautiously withdrew:
The Dogs who this Encounter heard,
Fiercly themselves to aid me rear'd,
And to the Place of Combat run,
Exactly as the Field was won.

(c) Beds stand in the Chimney-corner in this Country.

Fretting and hot as roasting Capon,
And greasy as a Flitch of Bacon;
I to the Orchard did repair,
To Breathe the cool and open Air;
Expecting there the rising Day,
Extended on a Bank I lay;
But Fortune here, that saucy Whore,
Disturb'd me worse and plagu'd me more,
Than she had done the night before.
Hoarse croaking ([d]) Frogs did 'bout me ring,
Such Peals the Dead to Life wou'd bring,
A Noise might move their Wooden King.
I stuff'd my Ears with Cotten white
For fear of being deaf out-right,
And curst the melancholy Night:
But soon my Vows I did recant,
And Hearing as a Blessing grant;
When a confounded Rattle-Snake,
With hissing made my Heart to ake:
Not knowing how to fly the Foe,
Or whether in the Dark to go;
By strange good Luck, I took a Tree,
Prepar'd by Fate to set me free;
Where riding on a Limb a-stride,
Night and the Branches did me hide,
And I the Devil and Snake defy'd.
Not yet from Plagues exempted quite,
The curst Muskitoes did me bite;
Till rising Morn' and blushing Day,
Drove both my Fears and Ills away;
And from Night's Errors set me free.
Discharg'd from hospitable Tree;
I did to Planters Booth repair,
And there at Breakfast nobly Fare,
On rashier broil'd of infant Bear:
I thought the Cub delicious Meat,
Which ne'er did ought but Chesnuts eat;

([d]) Frogs are called *Virginea* Bells, and make, (both in that Country and *Mary-Land*) during the Night, a very hoarse ungrateful Noise.

Nor was young Orsin's flesh the worse,
Because he suck'd a Pagan Nurse.
Our Breakfast done, my Landlord stout,
Handed a Glass of Rum about;
Pleas'd with the Treatment I did find,
I took my leave of Oast [10] so kind;
Who to oblige me, did provide,
His eldest Son to be my Guide,
And lent me Horses of his own,
A skittish Colt, and aged Rhoan,
The four-leg'd prop of his Wife *Joan.*
Steering our Barks in Trot or Pace,
We sail'd directly for a place
In *Mary-Land* of high renown,
Known by the Name of *Battle-Town.*[11]
To view the Crowds did there resort,
Which Justice made, and Law their sport,
In that sagacious County Court:
Scarce had we enter'd on the way,
Which thro' thick Woods and Marshes lay;
But *Indians* strange did soon appear,
In hot persuit of wounded Deer;
No mortal Creature can express,
His wild fantastick Air and Dress;
His painted Skin in colours dy'd,
His sable Hair in Satchel ty'd,[12]
Shew'd Savages not free from Pride:
His tawny Thighs, and Bosom bare,
Disdain'd a useless Coat to wear,
Scorn'd Summer's Heat, and Winters Air;
His manly Shoulders such as please,
Widows and Wives, were bath'd in Grease
Of Cub and Bear, whose supple Oil
Prepar'd his Limbs 'gainst Heat or Toil.
Thus naked Pict in Battel fought,
Or undisguis'd his Mistress sought;
And knowing well his Ware was good,
Refus'd to screen it with a Hood;

His Visage dun, and chin that ne'er
Did Raizor feel or Scissers bere,
Or knew the Ornament of Hair,
Look'd sternly Grim, surpriz'd with Fear,
I spur'd my Horse, as he drew near:
But Rhoan who better knew than I,
The little Cause I had to fly;
Seem'd by his solemn steps and pace,
Resolv'd I shou'd the Specter face,
Nor faster mov'd, tho' spur'd and lick'd,
Than *Balaam's* Ass by Prophet kick'd.
Kekicknitop ([a]) the Heathen cry'd;
How is it *Tom.* my Friend reply'd:
Judging from thence the Brute was civel,
I boldly fac'd the Courteous Devil;
And lugging out a Dram of Rum,
I gave his Tawny worship some:
Who in his language as I guess,
(My Guide informing me no less,)
Implored the ([b]) Devil, me to bless.
I thank'd him for his good Intent,
And forwards on my Journey went,
Discoursing as along I rode,
Whether this Race was framed by God
Or whether some Malignant pow'r,
Contriv'd them in an evil hour
And from his own Infernal Look,
Their Dusky form and Image took:

([a]) *Kekicknitop* is an *Indian* Expression, and signifies no more than this, *How do you do?*

([b]) These *Indians* worship the Devil, and pray to him as we do to God Almighty. 'Tis suppos'd, That *America* was peopl'd from *Scythia* or *Tartaria*, which Borders on *China*, by reason the *Tartarians* and *Americans* very much agree in their Manners, Arms and Government. Other Persons are of Opinion, that the *Chinese* first peopled the *West Indies;* imagining *China* and the Southern part of *America* to be contiguous. Others believe that the *Phœnicians* who were very skilful Mariners, first planted a Colony in the Isles of *America*, and supply'd the Persons left to inhabit there with Women and all other Necessaries; till either the Death or Shipwreck of the first Discoverers, or some other Misfortune occasioned the loss of the Discovery, which had been purchased by the Peril of the first Adventurers.

From hence we fell to Argument
Whence Peopled was this Continent.
My Friend suppos'd *Tartarians* wild,
Or *Chinese* from their Home exiled;
Wandering thro' Mountains hid with Snow,
And Rills did in the Vallies flow,
Far to the South of *Mexico:*
Broke thro' the Barrs which Nature cast,
And wide unbeaten Regions past,
Till near those Streams the humane deludge roll'd,
Which sparkling shin'd with glittering Sands of Gold,
And fetch ([d]) *Pizarro* from the ([e]) *Iberian* Shoar,
To Rob the Natives of their fatal Stoar.
I Smil'd to hear my young Logician,
Thus Reason like a Politician;
Who ne're by Fathers Pains and Earning
Had got at Mother *Cambridge* Learning;
Where Lubber youth just free from birch
Most stoutly drink to prop the Church;
Nor with ([f]) *Grey-Groat* had taken Pains
To purge his Head and Cleanse his Reines:
And in obedience to the Colledge,
Had pleas'd himself with carnal Knowledge:
And tho' I lik'd the youngester's Wit,
I judg'd the Truth he had not hit;
And could not choose but smile to think
What they could do for Meat and Drink,
Who o'er so many Desarts ran,
With Brats and Wives in *Caravan;*
Unless perchance they'd got the Trick,
To eat no more than Porker sick;
Or could with well contented Maws,
Quarter like ([g]) Bears upon their Paws.

([d]) *Pizarro* was the Person that conquer'd *Peru;* a Man of a most bloody Disposition, base, treacherous, covetous and revengeful.

([e]) *Spanish* Shoar.

([f]) There is a very bad Custom in some Colledges, of giving the Students *A Groat ad purgandas Rhenes,* which is usually employ'd to the use of the *Donor.*

([g]) Bears are said to live by sucking of their *Paws,* according to the Notion of some Learned Authors.

Thinking his Reasons to confute,
I gravely thus commenc'd Dispute,
And urg'd that tho' a *Chinese* Host,
Might penetrate this *Indian* Coast;
Yet this was certainly most true,
They never cou'd the Isles subdue;
For knowing not to steer a Boat,
They could not on the Ocean float,
Or plant their Sunburnt Colonies,
In Regions parted by the Seas:
I thence inferr'd ([h]) *Phœnicians* old,
Discover'd first with Vessels bold
These Western Shoars, and planted here,
Returning once or twice a Year,
With *Naval Stoars* and Lasses kind,
To comfort those were left behind;
Till by the Winds and Tempest toar,
From their intended Golden Shoar;
They suffer'd Ship-wreck, or were drown'd,
And lost the World so newly found.
But after long and learn'd Contention,
We could not finish our dissention;
And when that both had talk'd their fill,
We had the self same Notion still.
Thus Parson grave well read and Sage,
Does in dispute with Priest engage;
The one protests they are not Wise,
Who judge by ([i]) Sense and trust their Eyes;
And vows he'd burn for it at Stake,
That Man may God his Maker make;
The other smiles at his Religion,
And vows he's but a learned Widgeon:

([h]) The *Phœnicians* were the best and boldest Saylors of Antiquity, and indeed the only *Persons*, in former Ages, who durst venture themselves on the Main Sea.

([i]) The *Priests* argue, That our Senses in the point of *Transubstantiation* ought not to be believed, for tho' the Consecrated Bread has all the accidents of Bread, yet they affirm, 'tis the Body of Christ, and not Bread but Flesh and Bones.

And when they have empty'd all their stoar
From Books and Fathers, are not more
Convinc'd or wiser than before.
Scarce had we finish'd serious Story,
But I espy'd the Town before me,
And roaring Planters on the ground,
Drinking of Healths in Circle round:
Dismounting Steed with friendly Guide,
Our Horses to a Tree we ty'd,
And forwards pass'd amongst the Rout,
To chuse convenient *Quarters* out:
But being none were to be found,
We sat like others on the ground
Carousing Punch in open Air
Till Cryer did the Court declare;
The planting Rabble being met,
Their Drunken Worships likewise set:
Cryer proclaims that Noise shou'd cease,
And streight the Lawyers broke the Peace:
Wrangling for Plaintiff and Defendant,
I thought they ne'er would make an end on't:
With nonsense, stuff and false quotations,
With brazen Lyes and Allegations;
And in the splitting of the Cause,
They us'd such Motions with their Paws,
As shew'd their Zeal was strongly bent,
In Blows to end the Argument.
A reverend Judge, who to the shame
Of all the Bench, cou'd write his ([k]) Name;
At Petty-fogger took offence,
And wonder'd at his Impudence.
My Neighbour *Dash* with scorn replies,
And in the Face of Justice flies:
The Bench in fury streight divide,
And Scribbles take, or Judges side;

([k]) In the County-Court of *Mary land*, very few of the Justices of the *Peace* can write or read.

The Jury, Lawyers, and their Clyents,
Contending, fight like earth-born Gyants:
But Sheriff wily lay perdue,
Hoping Indictments wou'd ensue,
And when————————————
A Hat or Wig fell in the way,
He seiz'd them for the *Queen* as stray:
The Court adjourn'd in usual manner,
In Battle Blood, and fractious Clamour;
I thought it proper to provide,
A Lodging for myself and Guide,
So to our Inn we march'd away,
Which at a little distance lay;
Where all things were in such Confusion,
I thought the World at its conclusion:
A Herd of Planters on the ground,
O'er-whelm'd with Punch, dead drunk we found:
Others were fighting and contending,
Some burnt their Cloaths to save the mending.
A few whose Heads by frequent use,
Could better bare the potent Juice,
Gravely debated State Affairs.
Whilst I most nimbly trip'd up Stairs;
Leaving my Friend discoursing oddly,
And mixing things Prophane and Godly:
Just then beginning to be Drunk,
As from the Company I slunk,
To every Room and Nook I crept,
In hopes I might have somewhere slept;
But all the bedding was possest
By one or other drunken Guest:
But after looking long about,
I found an antient Corn-loft out,
Glad that I might in quiet sleep,
And there my bones unfractur'd keep.
I lay'd me down secure from Fray,
And soundly snoar'd till break of Day;
When waking fresh I sat upright,
And found my Shoes were vanish'd quite;
Hat, Wig, and Stockings, all were fled
From this extended *Indian* Bed:

Vext at the Loss of Goods and Chattel,
I swore I'd give the Rascal battel,
Who had abus'd me in this sort,
And Merchant Stranger made his Sport.
I furiously descended Ladder;
No Hare in *March* was ever madder:
In vain I search'd for my Apparel,
And did with Oast and Servants Quarrel;
For one whose Mind did much aspire
To ([a]) Mischief, threw them in the Fire;
Equipt with neither Hat nor Shooe,
I did my coming hither rue,
And doubtful thought what I should do:
Then looking round, I saw my Friend
Lie naked on a Tables end;
A Sight so dismal to behold,
One wou'd have judg'd him dead and cold;
When wringing of his bloody Nose,
By fighting got we may suppose;
I found him not so fast asleep,
Might give his Friends a cause to weep:
Rise ([b]) *Oronooko*, rise, said I,
And from this *Hell* and *Bedlam* fly.
My Guide starts up, and in amaze,
With blood-shot Eyes did round him gaze;
At length with many a sigh and groan,
He went in search of aged Rhoan;
But Rhoan, tho' seldom us'd to faulter,
Had fairly this time slipt his Halter;
And not content all Night to stay
Ty'd up from Fodder, ran away:
After my Guide to ketch him ran,
And so I lost both Horse and Man;
Which Disappointment, tho' so great,
Did only Mirth and Jests create:
Till one more Civil than the rest,
In Conversation for the best,
Observing that for want of Rhoan,

([a]) 'Tis the Custom of the Planters, to throw their own, or any other Persons Hat, Wig, Shooes or Stockings in the Fire.

([b]) Planters are usually call'd by the Name of *Oronooko*, from their Planting *Oronooko-Tobacco*.

I should be left to walk alone;
Most readily did me intreat,
To take a Bottle at his Seat;[13]
A Favour at that time so great,
I blest my kind propitious Fate;
And finding soon a fresh supply,
Of Cloaths from Stoar-house kept hard by,
I mounted streight on such a Steed,
Did rather curb, than whipping need;
And straining at the usual rate,
With spur of Punch which lay in Pate,[14]
E'er long we lighted at the Gate:
Where in an antient *Cedar* House,
Dwelt my new Friend, a (a) Cokerouse;
Whose Fabrick, tho' 'twas built of Wood,
Had many Springs and Winters stood;
When sturdy Oaks, and lofty Pines
Were level'd with (b) Musmelion Vines,
And Plants eradicated were,
By Hurricanes into the air;
There with good Punch and apple Juice,
We spent our Hours without abuse:
Till Midnight in her sable Vest,
Persuaded Gods and Men to rest;
And with a pleasing kind surprize,
Indulg'd soft Slumbers to my Eyes.
Fierce (c) *Æthon* courser of the Sun,
Had half his Race exactly run;
And breath'd on me a fiery Ray,
Darting hot Beams the following Day,
When snug in Blanket white I lay:
But Heat and (d) *Chinces* rais'd the Sinner,
Most opportunely to his Dinner;
Wild Fowl and Fish delicious Meats,
As good as *Neptune's* Doxy[15] eats,
Began our Hospitable Treat;
Fat Venson follow'd in the Rear,
And Turkies wild Luxurious Chear:

(a) Cockerouse, is a Man of Quality.
(b) Musmilleon Vines are what we call Muskmilleon Plants.
(c) *Æthon* is one of the Poetical Horses of the Sun.
(d) *Chinces* are a sort of Vermin like our *Bugs* in *England*.

But what the Feast did most commend,
Was hearty welcom from my Friend.
Thus having made a noble Feast,
And eat as well as pamper'd Priest,
Madera strong in flowing Bowls,
Fill'd with extream, delight our Souls;
Till wearied with a purple Flood,
Of generous Wine (the Giant's blood,
As Poets feign) away I made,
For some refreshing verdant Shade;
Where musing on my Rambles strange,
And Fortune which so oft did change;
In midst of various Contemplations .
Of Fancies odd, and Meditations,
I slumber'd long————————
Till hazy Night with noxious Dews,
Did Sleep's unwholsom Fetters lose:
With Vapours chil'd, and misty air,
To fire-side I did repair:
Near which a jolly Female Crew,
Were deep engag'd at *Lanctre-Looe;* [16]
In Night rails [17] white, with dirty Mein,
Such Sights are scarce in *England* seen:
I thought them first some Witches bent,
On Black Designs in dire Convent.
Till one who with affected air,
Had nicely learn'd to Curse and Swear:
Cry'd Dealing's lost is but a Flam,[18]
And vow'd by G—d she'd keep her *Pam.*[19]
When dealing through the board had run,
They ask'd me kindly to make one;
Not staying often to be bid,
I sat me down as others did:
We scarce had play'd a Round about,
But that these *Indian* Froes [20] fell out.
D—m you, says one, tho' now so brave,
I knew you late a Four-Years Slave;
What if for Planters Wife you go,
Nature design'd you for the Hoe.

(f) Wild Turkies are very good Meat, and prodigiously large in *Maryland.* (This note refers to the last line on p. 15. Ed.)

Rot you replies the other streight,
The Captain kiss'd you for his Freight;
And if the Truth was known aright,
And how you walk'd the Streets by night,
You'd blush (if one cou'd blush) for shame,
Who from *Bridewell* or *Newgate* came.
From Words they fairly fell to Blows,
And being loath to interpose,
Or meddle in the Wars of Punk,[21]
Away to Bed in hast I slunk.
Waking next day, with aking Head,
And Thirst, that made me quit my Bed;
I rigg'd myself, and soon got up,
To cool my Liver with a Cup
Of (a) *Succahana* fresh and clear,
Not half so good as *English* Beer;
Which ready stood in Kitchin Pail,
And was in fact but *Adam's* Ale;
For Planters Cellars you must know,
Seldom with good *October* [22] flow,
But Perry Quince and Apple Juice,
Spout from the Tap like any Sluce;
Untill the Cask's grown low and stale,
They're forc'd again to (b) Goad and Pail:
The soathing drought scarce down my Throat,
Enough to put a Ship a float,
With Cockerouse as I was sitting,
I felt a Feaver Intermitting;
A fiery Pulse beat in my Veins,
From Cold I felt resembling Pains:
This cursed seasoning I remember,
Lasted from *March* to cold *December;*
Nor would it then its *Quarters* shift,
Until by *Cardus* [23] turn'd a drift,

(a) *Succahana* is Water.
(b) A *Goad* grows upon an *Indian* Vine, resembling a Bottle, when ripe it is hollow; this the Planters make use of to drink water out of.

And had my Doctress wanted skill,
Or Kitchin Physick at her will,
My Father's Son had lost his Lands,
And never seen the *Goodwin-Sands:*
But thanks to Fortune and a Nurse
Whose Care depended on my Purse,
I saw myself in good Condition,
Without the help of a Physitian:
At length the shivering ill relieved,
Which long my Head and Heart had grieved;
I then began to think with Care,
How I might sell my *British* Ware,
That with my Freight I might comply,
Did on my Charter party lie:
To this intent, with Guide before,
I tript it to the Eastern Shoar;
While riding near a Sandy Bay,
I met a *Quaker*, *Yea* and *Nay;*
A Pious Conscientious Rogue,
As e'er woar Bonnet or a Brogue,
Who neither Swore nor kept his Word,
But cheated in the Fear of God;
And when his Debts he would not pay,
By Light within he ran away.
With this sly Zealot soon I struck
A Bargain for my *English* Truck,
Agreeing for ten thousand weight,
Of *Sot-weed* good and fit for freight,
Broad *Oronooko* bright and sound,
The growth and product of his ground;
In Cask that should contain compleat,
Five hundred of Tobacco neat.
The Contract thus betwixt us made,
Not well acquainted with the Trade,
My Goods I trusted to the Cheat,
Whose crop was then aboard the Fleet;
And going to receive my own,
I found the Bird was newly flown:
Cursing this execrable Slave,
This damn'd pretended Godly Knave;

On due Revenge and Justice bent,
I instantly to Counsel went,
Unto an ambodexter (c) *Quack*,
Who learnedly had got the knack
Of giving Glisters,[24] making Pills,
Of filling Bonds, and forging Wills;
And with a stock of Impudence,
Supply'd his want of Wit and Sense;
With Looks demure, amazing People,
No wiser than a Daw in Steeple;
My Anger flushing in my Face,
I stated the pre[c]eeding Case:
And of my Money was so lavish,
That he'd have poyson'd half the Parish,
And hang'd his Father on a Tree,
For such another tempting Fee;
Smiling, said he, the Cause is clear,
I'll manage him you need not fear;
The Case is judg'd, good Sir, but look
In *Galen*, No — in my Lord *Cook*,
I vow to God I was mistook:
I'll take out a Provincial Writ,
And Trounce him for his Knavish Wit;
Upon my Life we'll win the Cause,
With all the ease I cure the (d) *Yaws:*
Resolv'd to plague the holy Brother,
I set one Rogue to catch another;
To try the Cause then fully bent,
Up to (e) *Annapolis* I went,
A City Situate on a Plain,
Where scarce a House will keep out Rain;
The Buildings fram'd with Cyprus rare,
Resembles much our *Southwark* Fair:

(c) This Fellow was an Apothecary, and turn'd an Attorney at Law.
(d) The *Yaws* is the *Pox*.
(e) The chief of *Mary-land* containing about twenty four *Houses*.

But Stranger here will scarcely meet
With Market-place, Exchange, or Street;
And if the Truth I may report,
'Tis not so large as *Tottenham Court.*
St. *Mary's* once was in repute,
Now here the Judges try the Suit,
And Lawyers twice a Year dispute.
As oft the Bench most gravely meet,
Some to get Drunk, and some to eat
A swinging share of Country Treat.
But as for Justice right or wrong,
Not one amongst the numerous throng,
Knows what they mean, or has the Heart,
To give his Verdict on a Stranger's part:
Now Court being call'd by beat of Drum,
The Judges left their Punch and Rum,
When Pettifogger Doctor draws,
His Paper forth, and opens Cause:
And least I shou'd the better get,
Brib'd *Quack* suppress his Knavish Wit.
So Maid upon the downy Field,
Pretends a Force, and Fights to yield:
The Byast Court without delay,
Adjudg'd my Debt in Country Pay;
In (f) Pipe staves, Corn, or Flesh of Boar,
Rare Cargo for the *English* Shoar:
Raging with Grief, full speed I ran,
To joyn the Fleet at (g) *Kicketan;* [25]
Embarqu'd and waiting for a Wind,
I left this dreadful Curse behind.

May Canniballs transported o'er the Sea
Prey on these Slaves, as they have done on me;
May never Merchant's, trading Sails explore
This Cruel, this Inhospitable Shoar;

(f) There is a Law in this Country, the Plantiff may pay his Debt in Country pay, which consists in the produce of his Plantation.
(g) The homeward bound Fleet meets here.

But left abandon'd by the World to starve,
May they sustain the Fate they well deserve:
May they turn Savage, or as *Indians* Wild,
From Trade, Converse, and Happiness exil'd;
Recreant to Heaven, may they adore the Sun,
And into Pagan Superstitions run
For Vengence ripe ————————
May Wrath Divine then lay those Regions wast
Where no Man's (*) Faithful, nor a Woman Chast.

(*) The Author does not intend by this, any of the *English* Gentltmen resident there.

FINIS.

NOTES ON "THE SOT-WEED FACTOR."

(1). Capes Henry and Charles at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay.

(2). Piscataway Creek empties into the Potomac River in Prince George's County below the District of Columbia.

(3). *Sot-weed* is the weed that inebriates, *i. e.*, tobacco.

(4). *Tripple tree* is the gallows, possibly so called from the three pieces of wood forming it.

(5). The Piscataway is doubtless the river referred to.

(6). A *whet* is a dram that whets the appetite, an appetizer.

(7). Liquor was said to be "upon the *fret*" when it was in a state of effervescence.

(8). The *Indian gun* was a pipe for smoking tobacco.

(9). *Trapann'd* means ensnared or kidnapped.

(10). *Oast* is another form of spelling host.

(11). *Battle-town* was the county seat of Calvert County. It stood on Battle Creek, an affluent of the Patuxent, and was laid out in 1682 (see *Md. Arch.*, Assembly Proceedings). The site, about eight miles south of Prince Frederick, is "now covered by cornfields and fields of tobacco."

(12). *Satchel*—does this mean his hair was tied in a bag?

(13). By *Seat*, the country residence is referred to.

(14). "Spur of Punch which lay in Pate," *i. e.*, spurred on by the punch which he had drunk and the effects of which were still felt by his brain.

(15). A *doxy* is a sweetheart.

(16). *Lanctre-Looe*, a game of cards, more usually spelled *lanterloo*, and often known by a shortened form of the word, as *loo*.

(17). *Night-rails*—rail was an old word for dress or garment.

(18). A *Flam* is a delusion, possibly another way of pronouncing flame, and so equivalent to glitter (*vide Century Dictionary*).

(19). *Pam*, the knave of trumps, usually clubs in the game of loo, and the highest card in the pack.

(20). *Froes* is another spelling of *Vrouw*, the Dutch word meaning woman.

(21). A *Punk* is a prostitute.

(22). *October*—ale brewed in this month was especially famous.

(23). *Cardus*, the blessed thistle (*Carduus benedictus*), was held in high esteem as a remedy for disease.

(24). *Glisters* or *Clysters* are enemas.

(25). *Kicketan* or *Kicoughton* was the Indian name for Hampton, Va.

E. C.

THE PLANTER'S

LOOKING-GLASS, IN

VERSE.

ANNAPOLIS.

1730.

TOBACCO REDIVIVUS:

Or the PLANTERS

Looking-Glass.

In Burlesque Verse.

Calculated for the Meridian of

MARYLAND.

By E. C. *Gent.*

Non videmus, id Manticæ quod in Tergo est.

Juv.

ANNAPOLIS:

Printed by WILLIAM PARKS, for the Author.
M.DCC.XXX.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

MAY I be canoniz'd for a Saint, if I know what Apology to make for this dull Piece of Household stuff, any more than he that first invented the *Horn-Book;* all that can be said in its Defence, is, the *Muses* hath taken as much Pains in framing their brittle Ware, as *Bruin* does in licking her Cubs into Shape: And should that carping Cur, *Momus*, but breath on it, (*vah! miseris,*) we are quite undone; since one Blast from the Critick's Mouth, wou'd raise more Flaws in this *Looking-Glass*, than there be Circles in the *Sphere;* and when all is said and done, the *Reader* will judge just as he pleases. Well, if it be the Fate of these Sheets, to supply the Use of Waste Paper, the *Author* has done his Part, and is determined to write on, as often as his Inclination or Interest shall prompt him.

Vale.

TO THE

Generous SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THE Author *finding all Attempts prove vain,*
Those glittering Smiles from Fortune *to obtain:*
That purblind Goddess on the Fool bestows;
His tow'ring Grandeur to her Bounty owes;
Rather than on base Terms, the Point dispute,
To the Pierian Songsters *makes his Suit,*
In gingling Rhimes, to guide his gouty Feet,
The ancient Path of Pegasus *to beat.*

When mounted on old Roan, *with Guide before;*
The Spurious Off-spring of some Tawny-Moor,
To Battle-Town, *the Author took his way,*
That thro' thick Woods and fenny Marshes lay,
And mangled Oaks, laid blended on the Plains,
Cut down for Fuel by unthinking Swains.

v

At Ax and Hoe, like Negroe Asses tug,
To glut the Market with a poisonous Drug:
Destroy sound Timber, and lay waste their Lands,
To head a Troop of Aethiopian *Hands,*
Worse Villains are, than Forward's [1] Newgate *Bands:*
Will by their Heirs be curst for these Mistakes,
E'er Saturn *thrice his Revolution makes;*
Whose thriftless State, this Looking-Glass *is meant,*
By way of Metaphor, to represent:
Wherein the Planter *may his Fate behold,*
By sad Experience, has been often told,
It's Industry, and not a nauseous Weed,
Must cloath the Naked, *and the* Hungry *feed.*
Correct those Errors length of Time have made,
Since the first Scheme of Government was laid
In Maryland, *for propagating Trade,*
Will never flourish, till we learn to sound
Great-Britain's *Channel, and in Cash abound:*

vi

The only best Expedient that remains,
To make the Profit equal to the Pains,
And set us on the Par *with neighbouring Swains.*

THIS thread-bare Theme the Author's *Muse here sings,*
Did never drink of the Castalian *Springs,*
Or bath'd her Limbs in Heliconian *Streams,*
Where fiery Phoebus *cools his thirsty Beams.*

SUCH lofty Numbers and heroic Strains
Of sprightly Wit, as Virgil's *Lays contains,*
When elevated with Phoebian *Fire,*
On Tyber's *Banks, he struck the warbling Lyre,*
Are too sublime for her, that ne'er could fly
Above the Pitch of Grub-street *Elegy,*
Or the flat Sound of Doggerel *Poetry:*
So hopes Subscribers *will be pleas'd to pass*
A candid Thought on this, his Looking-Glass.

vii

Such kind Encouragement to Poesy *give,*
The Sotweed Factor *by his* Muse *may live:*
This Province *wisheth well, and should be glad,*
To see young Girls *in* Home-spun *Vestments clad,*
Plain as this Dress, wherein his Muse *appears;*
And tho' distasteful to their blooming Years,
Yet the Hibernian *Lasses, we are told,*
Such modest Garments wore in Days of old.
Nor was the best bred Nymph *allow'd to wed,*
And taste the Pleasures of a Nuptial *Bed,*
'Till she, before some Magistrate *did go,*
Equipp'd in Home-spun Weeds, *from Head to Toe,*
Swore solemnly on the Evangelist,
Each Flaxen *Thread, her tender Hands did twist.*
And were such Laws and Customs here in Force,
Maidens would soon industrious grow of course.
To Minstrel *Sounds, prefer the* Weaver's Loom,
As did Arachne, *'till she had her Doom;*

viii

Improve each Minute at the Flaxen *Wheel,*
That now think Scorn, to exercise the Reel.

But as young Cloe *may think it too hard,*
Her matrimonial Geer, to spin and card,
Before she dare, by Strephon *be embrac'd,*
By Bride-maids, *on her Wedding Night, unlac'd:*
So if it were ordain'd, to end the Strife,
No Swain should be allow'd to have a Wife,
On any Terms,[2] *'till he* Three Thousand Weight
Of Merchantable Hemp, *and fit for Freight,*
Or Flax *had made, I dare be bold to say,*
Strephon *would have no Time at* Cards *to play,*
On Horse-Racing, *his Substance throw away,*
'Till he the Gordian-Knot *with Cloe ty'd,*
By Industry, *obtain'd her for his* Bride.

1

THE

LOOKING-GLASS.

Bound up to Port *Annapolis*,
The famous Beau *Metropolis*
Of *Maryland*, of small Renown,
When *Anna* [3] first wore *England's* Crown,
Is now grown rich and opulent;
The awful Seat of Government.
Well mounted on my aged Pacer,
In youthful Days, had been a Racer,
For *Severn* Banks, my Course I steer'd;
And spurring *Jack*, no Danger fear'd;
Within the City Walls appear'd,
2 As *Aethon*, Courser of the Sun,
Had half his Race exactly run;
There having first secur'd my Prancer,
To Stable nimbly did advance, Sir.
I pass'd *Aestrea's* Temple Gates,
Where the High Court of Delegates [4]
Assembled were, with Resolution,
To fortify their Constitution,
By Laws, that should, to say no more,
The Common-Weal to Health restore;
Consumptive is, and sickly grown;
As shall in proper Place be shewn;
Reduc'd to Penury indeed,
By feeding on this *Indian* Weed.

For Remedy, both Houses joyn,
To settle here a *Current Coin*,[5]
Without Exception, such as may,
Our *Publick Dues* and *Clergy pay*.
3 Grown Worldly wise, unwilling are,
To be put off with Neighbours Fare;
Hold *Predial Tythes*,[6] secure in Bags,
Better than *Paper* made of *Rags*:

The *Scribes* likewise, and *Pharisees*,
Infected with the same Disease,
On *Paper Money* look a squint,
Care not to be made Fools in Print.
Thus what is meant for Publick Good,
I find to be misunderstood,
And taken in the worser Sense,
By those, care not for *Paper Pence*.
And tho' this *Scheme* should prove in vain,
The Case to me seems very plain;
Said I to *Planter* standing by,
And was for *Paper Currency*:
It's Money, be it what it will,
In Tan-Pit coin'd, or Paper-Mill,
That must the hungry Belly fill,
When summon'd to attend the Court,
Held at the Magisterial Port.[7]

So far, said he, with you I joyn;
Am glad to find your Thoughts suit mine:
And with Submission to the State,
I have a Project in my Pate,
May prove the Making of this Land,
If executed out of Hand;
Which is to give my Fancy vent,
Within my *Pericranium* Pent.
The levelling a standing Coin,
It matters not what Sort of Mine
It issues from, since ev'ry Thing
Is worth no more than it will bring.

SUPPOSE a Statute Law was made,
For the Encouragement of Trade;
And Men of various Occupations,
Within his Majesty's Plantations,
That *Copper Money*, *Tin*, or *Brass*,
Throughout *America* should pass:
Which Coin shou'd the King's Image bear;
In equal Worth be ev'ry where:
Not subject to be clipt by Shears,
Like Yellow-Boys,[8] have lost their Ears;
But as a Free-born Subject range,
Of different Size, for ready Change.

THIS Dialogue was scarce begun,
As on the Walks we took a turn,
When sudden Noise alarm'd our Ears,
Filling the Town with Hopes and Fears,
That seem'd to Eccho from the *Hive*;
Whereat I grew inquisitive,
6 To know the Meaning of such Clamour;
Says One, in Drink, that made him stammer,
The Reason's this, if you must know it,
The House divided is, old *Poet*,
In voting for the *Money Bill*;
Which, tho' compos'd with wondrous Skill,
Will never pass, I dare be bold,
A Pipe of Wine on it to hold.

THIS said, revolv'd on t'other Dose,[9]
To Tavern steer'd an Oblique Course:
Which standing almost within Hollow,[10]
I did his drunken Worship follow;
Seem'd by his reeling thro' the Street,
To be much founder'd in his Feet.
So reach'd the *Bacchanalian* Mansion,
Before the Host had gave him Sanction.
And meeting with young Politicians,
Dull antiquated State Physicians;
7 Replenishing their thirsty Souls
With Lemon Punch, in flowing Bowls.
Not waiting long for Invitation;
At Fire Side took up my Station;
As others did; were grown profuse,
Inspir'd by the potent Juice,
On the Proceedings of that Day,
Whilst some at Dice, pass'd Time away:
When one dubb'd *Esqr*; by Mistake,
His wise Remarks began to make,
On the new Plan for raising Pence,
Protesting, tho' it was the Sense
Of some, that sat in the wise * *Mote*,
He cou'd not safely give his Vote,
For such an odd contriv'd Intention,
As e'er was laid before Convention:

**Assembly.*

8 Alledging, *Planters*, when in drink,
Wou'd light their Pipes with Paper Chink; [11]
And knowing not to read, might be
Impos'd on, by such Currency.

THESE Reasons, Laughter did create;
The Subject was of our Debate;
'Till Midnight, in her Sable Vest,
Persuaded *Gods* and *Men* to Rest;
And with a pleasing kind Surprize,
Indulg'd soft Slumber to my Eyes.
I call'd the drowsy *Passive Slave*,
To light me to my downy Grave:
Where instantly I was convey'd,
By one that pass'd for Chamber-Maid,
Close by the Side of *Planter* laid.
Curious to know from whence he came,
I boldly crav'd his Worship's Name.
9 And tho' the *Don* at first seem'd sly,
At length he made this smart Reply.

I am, says he, that *Cocherouse*,
Once entertain'd you at his House,
When aged *Roan*, not us'd to falter,
If you remember, slipt his Halter;
Left *Sotweed Factor* in the Lurch,
As *Presbyterians* leave the Church:
However, since we here are met,
Let's, by Consent, take t'other Whet
Before we sleep; Content, said I;
Here, *Gipsy*, to the Cellar fly,
And bring us up a Flask of Clarret;
Since we are quarter'd in this Garret.
I think a Bottle has more Charms,
Than can be found in *Morpheus* Arms:
But finding the Mullatto fled,
To Chimney Nook, her native Bed;
10 And Night far spent, we thought it best,
To let the *Aethiopian* rest:
So gravely fell to Argument;
On the late Act of Parliament; [12]
The Growth of *Sotweed* to prevent,
And give our Staple freer Vent.

And thus the *Planter* first began,
This Matter seriously to scan;
As in next *Canto* you will find,
Exactly copy'd from his Mind.

CANTO II.

WHEN *Charles* the *First*, long since came hither,
In stormy and tempestuous Weather,
With *Royal Grant*, to settle here,
A Province, worthy of his Care;
Leaving behind, to raise up Seed,
And tend a stinking *Indian* Weed,
11 *Scotch*, *English*, and *Hybernians* wild,
From Sloth and Idleness exil'd.
Tobacco, then, no Duty paid;
But Time has almost sunk the Trade,
And Imposts on our Staple laid.
From scorching *Africa*'s burnt Shore,
Brought *Aethiopian* Slaves great Store.
More *Weeds* turn out, to Heat inur'd,
Than by the *Populace* are cur'd,
Makes it a Drug, as *Merchants* feel,
Whose Chance it is in Trash [13] to deal;
Fit only to manure the *Earth*,
In *Physick* Gardens, finds good Birth.
But had old *Galen* known the Pains,
Planters are at, for little Gains,
He would have curst it long ago;
In Quarters here so fast doth grow.
Plebians by it scarce can live,
To naked Brats Subsistance give.

12 THESE petty Charges not a few,
With Subsidies both old and new,
As Factors tell us, run so high,
They swallow up our Industry.
In whose undoubted Word and Honour,
(That *Female Idol*,) Pox upon her,
Planters oblig'd are to confide,
Or learn to plow the *Ocean* wide;
Had better trust to *Home-spun* Sails;
Go sell their Labour at the Scales,

Than be, by *Bills of Sale* undone;
Glad to *Cape Fair*, at last to run.
And other Frauds us'd in the Trade,
Has almost Beggars of some made;
Had rather by Shop Notes [14] be bit,
Hundred per Cent pay for their Wit,
When Pride ambitious is to shine,
In gaudy Feathers rich and fine,
13 Than in coarse Goods lay out their Tubs,[15]
With Merchants here, unless 'tis Scrubs:
Has put them on their Guard, for why?
It's better deal for *Currency*,
Than be impos'd on at that Rate,
Mundungus [16] take, unfit for Freight.

THUS, we go on, but do not see
What may the Issue of it be.
Take care the Poor may live and thrive,
Against the Stream are left to strive;
Wou'd be industrious, had we Pence,
Their Industry to recompence:
But to be paid with *Indian* Weed,
In Parcels, will not answer Need.
It's true, we may this Thread of Life
Spin out, in Penury and Strife;
14 Like *Aesop*'s Swain, did *Jove* desire
To help his Cart out of the Mire;
To *Jupiter* at last apply,
For Help in our Extremity.
But *Jove* no Ear will lend to those,
That are their own unhappy Foes.
Then let us seriously reflect
Upon the worst we may expect,
Which is, with idle Drones to starve;
A Doom we justly do deserve:
Whilst blest with all Things here below,
That *God* and *Nature* can bestow,
To make us happy, would we be
Industrious as the frugal Bee,
That visits each mellifluous Flower,
To load with Tyme, her wooden Bower.[17]
And tho a rich and fertile Soil,
As e're was water'd by the *Nile*,

15 Has luckily fell to our Share:
Yet maugre all our seeming Care:
We Strangers to the Goddess are.
Bright *Ceres*, whom the *Poets* feign,
To till the Ground, instructs the Swain,
By Industry t'improve his Lands,
Without the help of Savage Hands.

THIS is our Case, and will, I fear,
Grow worse and worse, the Course we steer.
Are grown too populous to thrive,
Upon a nauseous Vegetive.[18]
And tho' the Law remains in Force,
The Market keeps its ebbing Course;
And will, unless, we settle here,
A *Jubilee*[19] once in Five Year.
But as that may not take *Perchance*,
I will another *Scheme* advance,
16 Will do, says the projecting *Don:*
And thus in serious Tone went on.

ALL Taxables[20] work in the Ground,
Both *Male* and *Female* that are sound,
Should be allow'd *Six Hundred* Weight,
Of *Sotweed* good, and fit for Freight,
To plant; and he that dares tend more,
Shou'd wear the Broad R[21] on his Door:
Remain in *Misericordia*,[22]
'Till he the Fine in Specie pay.
Merchants likewise, our Staple buy,
Shou'd be oblig'd in *Currency*,
Or *Bills*, for the Sixth Part, to pay
Upon the Nail,[23] without Delay:
The rest in Goods, at common Sale,
Or be committed, without Bail.
And that we may the better thrive;
Which is the Business of the *Hive*,
17 We ought conveniently to dwell
In *Towns* and *Cities*,[24] buy and sell
Our Merchandize at publick Scales.
And as it often rains and hails,
Warehouses should in common be
Erected; where, for a small Fee,

Our *Staple* would be convey'd thither,
Securely screen'd from stormy Weather.
There, free from anxious needless Care,
We may, at Leisure, vend our Ware;
Barter for Goods, as hath been said:
And ready Cash, that must be paid,
Our publick Duties to defray,
And old Arrears of *Quit-Rents* [25] pay.
A Tax equivalent has laid
Upon *Tobacco*, must be paid,
By Merchants, that the same Export,
In Bills, before it quits the Port.
18 But what is worst for *Patent* [26] Lands,
By others held, it Debtor stands:

I must confess, 'tis just and true,
That CAESAR should be paid his Due:
But one Man to monopolize
More Land, than yet he occupies,
And Foreigners the *Quit-Rents* pay,
In *Sterling* Coin, is not fair Play:
A Grievance ought to be suppress'd,
By Ways and Means, CAESAR knows best.
Thus, has our *Staple* of small Worth,
To many Evils given Birth:
That like *Ill Weeds*, unhappy Case,
As says the Proverb, *grows a-pace*;
Which, to prevent, *Physicians* say,
Our Laws chalk out a wholesome Way:
But what is so, to speak the Truth,
Does not agree with every Tooth;
19 Nor will the strictest penal Laws,
Contriv'd by Statesmen, strike the Cause.

THE only Way I know to heal
The ling'ring State of Common-weal,
Is to ordain all Taxes be,
As well the *Priest*, as *Lawyer's* Fee,
Hereafter paid in *Currency*;
Or with the Produce of our Grounds,
In *Stinkebus* [27] too much abounds;
Else, 'tis in vain for us to hope,
With our Misfortunes long to cope.

MORE wou'd loquatious *Don* have said,
Had *Morpheus* not come to my Aid,
The God of Sleep, with Leaden Charms,
Lock'd up the *Planter* in his Arms:
Where silent as the Night he lay,
Till *Phosphor* usher'd in the Day.

20 CANTO III.

SCARCE had the *Goddess* of the *Night*,
Resign'd her Throne to *Phoebus* bright;
When calling for a Quart Decanter
Of *Sack*, I thus harangu'd the *Planter*:
Rise, *Oroonoko*, rise, said I,
And let us drink Prosperity
To *Maryland*, before we part;
Starting, says he, with all my Heart.
I wish my Country very well:
And tho' the PRESS [28] with Schemes does swell,
To make us thrive at Home the better,
As *P. P.* tells us in his Letter,
If *Planters* wou'd be rul'd by me,
I will their best Physician be:
21 Prescribe the Means, wou'd, I am sure,
If rightly apply'd, work a Cure.

FIRST, let them *Swamps* and *Marshes* drain,
Fit to receive all Sorts of *Grain*,
Hemp, *Flax*, *Rice*; and let *Cotton* [29] here,
In all its *Autumn* Dress appear:
One Bale of each, more Pence will yield
In *Europe*, than the richest Field
Of *Oroonoko*, I am sure,
If nicely handled in the Cure.

NEXT, may their Industry be seen,
In *Pastures* fat, and *Meadows* green;
Where *Sheep* and *Cattle* manure Ground,
In mighty Numbers shou'd abound.
The *Hides* will for their Grazing pay,
And *Wool* Misfortunes keep in Play,

22 Of those, must either work or starve,
Oblig'd for Wife and Bearns to carve:
Mechanicks then of ev'ry Sort,
And *Mariners* wou'd here resort,
When they hear *Money* circulates,
Within our Towns and City Gates.

BUT as this Land, like *Albion*'s Isle,
Is compos'd of a different Soil,
So some shou'd *plant*, some drive the *Plow*;
And such as *Hemp* and *Flax* know how
To dress, shou'd exercise the Brake; [30]
But not permitted be to make
More Grain, or other Merchandize,
Than may their Hands and Stocks suffice:
Nor shou'd Crop Merchants correspond,
On t'other Side the *Herring-Pond*,[31]
23 Their pick'd and cull'd *Tobacco* send,
In weighty Cask, to some sly Friend,
Unless in Vessels of their own,
And Ships here built, as shall be shewn.

BUT then, perhaps, it will be said,
By those (to venture) are afraid,
How shall these floating Castles be
Equipp'd, and fitted for the Sea?
A Doubt not difficult to solve,
Wou'd such (in Pence abound) resolve,
As the *Phoenicians* did of old,
To plow the Seas in Vessels bold;
Which *Draft-men* [32] best know how to mould.
Materials here, of every kind,
May soon be found, were Youth inclin'd,
To practice the ingenious Art
Of Sailing, by *Mercator's* Chart.
24 The Woods with *Timber Trees* abound;
Near *North-East*,[33] *Iron* may be found,
The best that ever yet was made,
As *Vulcans* say, on Anvil laid.
From *Hemp* and *Flax*, may *Canvas Sails*
And *Ropes* be drawn, that seldom fails,
In stormy Winds, to act their Part,
If twisted well by human Art.

NOTHING is wanting to compleat,
Fit for the Sea, a trading Fleet,
But Industry and Resolution,
Wou'd quickly heal our Constitution,
Were we unanimously bent,
Impending Evils to prevent.
Can ne'er think to grow Rich and Great,
But by an Independant State;
25 Or hope to thrive, unless we try,
With Canvas Wings abroad to fly.
We then about the World might roam;
See how our *Staple* sells at Home;
Barbadoes and *Jamaica* drain;
Bring hither, from the Mines of *Spain*,
Moidores, *Pistoles*, and *Cobbs*,[34] full Weight;
The very best of *Spanish Plate*.[35]

BUT whether, with us they wou'd stay,
Is a hard Task for me to say;
Since Current Coin, in ev'ry State,
Invented was, to circulate:
And to restrain it, is as hard,
As *Luna*'s Motion to retard,
Unless, by Act of Limitation,
We cou'd make *Maryland* its Station:
26 Oblige it like the constant *Sun*,
Beyond its *Tropicks* not to run,
Potomack River, (that's to say)
And *Delaware*'s exuberant Bay.
But *Copper-Coin*, like vagrant *Cain*,
Wou'd never wander into *Spain*,
Or long in Misers Bags remain.
This said, the Glass he upwards threw,
And bending backwards, strongly drew.
I pledg'd his Worship in a Brimmer;
And thus retorted on the Sinner.

These Sentiments, I must confess,
Much Zeal for publick Good express:
But when all's done, as hath been said,
It's Industry must force a Trade:
Upon *Mercator* turn the Tables,
And cut those Interlopers Cables.

27 In Neighbouring Barks, export your Grain
To Islands in the *Western* Main.

THAT's very true, the *Don* reply'd;
But they a Law have on their Side,
For Six Months Space,[36] our Hands has ty'd,
Whereby they may this *Province* rifle,
And drain our Coffers for a Trifle.

YOUR Laws said I, in Time may see
And feel their Insufficiency.

AT this Reply, the *Don* sat mute,
And willing to conclude Dispute,
I, in few Lines, the Case sum'd up,
As *Cockerouse* drank off his Cup:
Then by the *Poet* be advis'd,
Said I to him, seem'd much disguis'd;
His Counsel's not to be despis'd.
28 Begin, be bold, old *Horace* cries,
And bravely venture to be wise.
In vain, he on the Brook Side stands,
With Shoes and Stockings in his Hands;
Waiting 'till all the Stream be past and gone,
That runs, (alas!) and ever will run on.

FINIS.

NOTES ON "SOTWEED REDIVIVUS."

(1). *Forward's Newgate Bands*—doubtless Forward was some forgotten ruffian of the Jack Sheppard type.

(2). The fact that Maryland had but one staple was often deplored and frequent attempts were made to introduce the cultivation of other agricultural products, but without success, until the settlement of the Germans in Western Maryland.

(3). Annapolis was named for Queen Anne in 1696. It was previously known as Anne Arundel Town.

(4). The Lower House of the General Assembly, composed of four members from each county and two from the city of Annapolis.

(5). In 1730, the Legislature passed an act to encourage the importation of gold and silver into this province. So scarce was coin that in 1729 the act prohibiting clipping of coin was repealed, so that clipped coins could be used in making change. Tobacco was the ordinary currency.

(6). *Predial tythes*—tithes "arising and renewing from the profits of lands." (Blackstone.)

(7). *Magisterial Port, i. e.*, the Country Seat.

(8). *Yellow boys*, gold coin.

(9). *Dose, i. e.*, dram of liquor.

(10). *Hollow, i. e.*, Halloo.

(11). *Chink, i. e.*, Money.

(12). *Act of Parliament*, doubtless referring here to the act of the Assembly, as the English Parliament had no jurisdiction over such local affairs. In 1727, an act was passed giving encouragement to make hemp within this Province and another concerning tobacco; in 1728, one for improving the staple of tobacco; in 1729 and in 1730, acts for ascertaining the gauge and tare of tobacco hogsheads and to prevent cropping, cutting, and defacing tobacco taken on board ships and vessels upon freight and for laying importations on tobacco per the hogshead for the support of government, etc. These facts show the great interest taken in the staple at this time in the Provincial Assembly.

(13). *Trash*, worthless, unmerchantable tobacco.

(14). *Shop notes, i. e.*, orders on a shop for goods, bills of credit issued by the proprietor of the Ship. *Cape Fair*, query whether this should not be *Cape Fear*, North Carolina, which colony was a not uncommon refuge for bankrupts.

(15). *Lay out their Tubs, i. e.*, expend the contents of their tubs or hogsheads of tobacco for expensive goods.

(16). *Mundungus*, a Spanish word, tobacco made up into a black roll, so as to look like black pudding or tripe. It is interesting to note that Sterne in the *Sentimental Journey* used this word as a nickname for Frederick, Sixth Lord Baltimore.

(17). *Wooden bower*, the beehive.

(18). *Vegetive*, vegetable, plant.

(19). The land lay fallow in the year of *Jubilee*, according to the Mosaic law.

(20). *Taxable*, a person who pays, or for whom is paid a poll-tax.

(21). *Broad R*—R. for *rogue* was branded on criminals; possibly Cooke proposed that the letter should be branded on the door instead of on the person.

(22). *Misericordia*, in the power and at the mercy of the Court.

(23). *Upon the nail*, at once.

(24). The General Assembly was continually establishing towns on paper and the need of such towns was strongly felt.

(25). *Quit rents*, an annual payment by land holders to the Lord Proprietary in discharge or acquittance of other services.

(26). *Patent Lands*, lands to which the title came from a patent issued by the Lord Proprietary.

(27). *Stinkebus*, the ill-smelling plant, tobacco.

(28). *The Press*—William Parks had established the Maryland Gazette in 1727.

(29). *Cotton*, an early reference to the importance of that staple to the South. Diversification of industry was a crying need of colonial Maryland.

(30). *Brake*, a machine for breaking up the woody portion of flax, to loosen it from the harl or fibres.

(31). *Herring-Pond*—note the early use of this colloquialism for the Atlantic Ocean. Dunton, in his *Letters from New England*, published in 1688, is the first author recorded in the *Oxford Dictionary* as having used the term.

(32). *Draft-men*, draughtsmen, naval architects.

(33). Reference is to the Principio iron furnaces in Cecil County, near the North East River.

(34). *Moidore*, a gold coin of Portugal worth about $6.50. *Pistole*, a Spanish gold coin worth about $4. *Cobb*, the Spanish silver piece of eight reals, or dollar.

(35). *Spanish Plate*, *i. e.*, Spanish silver; Plata = silver.

(36). *Six months space*, *i. e.*, the laws allowed six months credit.

AN

ELEGY

[*on*] *the Death of the Honourable* Nicholas Lowe, *Esq*:

Memor esto brevis Aevi

WHAT means this Mourning, Ladies, has Death led.
Your Brother Captive to his Earthly Bed?
Is LOWE to Nature's chilly Womb returned,
[Who ca]utiously the fatal Summons shun'd?
[And V]ery rarely moisten would his Clay
[For F]ear he should a final Visit pay
[To t]he opacous Mansions of the Dead,
[By] Worms, vile Reptiles, be devouréd.
[He]re Kings and Beggars lie, the Gulph have shot,
[Toge]ther blended in the general Lot;
[Ming]le their Dust, and into Ashes turn;
[Distin]guish'd only by a gilded Urn,
[The m]arble Tomb erected o'er their Pile,
[Who] sway'd the Sceptre of Great *Britain's* Isle.
[Victo]rious DEATH, all are alike to Thee,
[The] tender Saplin and the Almond Tree;
[Whe]n FATE commands thou levellst with the Ground,
[The] pointed Dart gave LOWE his mortal Wound.
[No h]uman Art can brittle Life prolong, }
[Our] Days are numbered and we must be gone }
[Or soon] or late to whom we do belong.
[As so]on the vigorous Youth as aged Swain,
[Neve]r, ah! never to return again.

[Why] Should we then LOWE's Absence grieve, since all
[Have sha]r'd the Punishment by *Adam's* Fall
[But A]h ! Maecenas, who his Death can bear,
[His] conduct knew, and unconcern'd appear.
[How cou]ld our Agent in his Winding Sheet
[The De]athless Trunk become bound Hand and Feet,
[Oh !] not in Floods of Tears his Exit mourn
[His] Ghost surrender'd with a dying Groan ;
[For] if Lowe's Life impartially we scan,
[A cautio]us, sober, charitable Man ;
[His Co]nversation innocently free, }
[When] Business called him into Company }
[Nor P]rone to Vice, or Immorality.
[But] tho' none live so just as to be found
[With]out some Fault that may their Conscience wound,
[It ca]n be said, his Character to blast,
[He liv]'d and dy'd a Batchelor at last.

EPITAPH

[Lo] *here he lies, wrapt in his winding Sheet,*
[A] *straea bound his Hands, and DEATH his Feet*
And that he might of Happiness partake,
[JEH]OVAH did his soul to Heaven take,
[His Ha]beas Corpus mov'd his Body too,
[And] to this World he bid a long Adieu.
[Excha]nging all its gaudy Pageantry, }
[For tha]t blest State of Immortality, }
[Which] Saints enjoy to all Eternity,

BY E. Cooke. Laureat.

NOTES ON THE "ELEGY ON NICHOLAS LOWE."

The volume of the newspaper, in which this elegy appeared, which has been preserved in the Maryland Historical Society's Library, was bound so carelessly that the initial letters of nearly every line of the poem were cut off. They have been restored conjecturally and are indicated by brackets.

Nicholas Lowe was the son of Col. Henry Lowe, of St. Mary's County, and Susanna Bennett, his wife. His father, Col. Henry Lowe, was a nephew of Lady Jane, wife of Charles, 3d Lord Baltimore. His mother, Susanna Bennett, was the daughter of Richard Bennett, Jr. (died 1667), and granddaughter of Richard Bennett, who was Governor of Virginia, 1652-55. Her brother, Richard Bennett, of Bennett's Point, Queen Anne County, is said to have been the richest subject in America. Susanna Bennett was twice married; first, to John Darnall (died 1684), brother of Col. Henry Darnall and a relative of the Calvert family; and secondly, to Col. Henry Lowe. By the first marriage she had one daughter; by the second, she had a large family of children, though all her sons died without issue. The mother of Susanna Bennett was Henrietta Maria Neale, daughter of Capt. James Neale, who married, first, Richard Bennett, Jr. (died 1667), and secondly, Col. Philemon Lloyd (died 1685). By her second marriage she was the mother of the Hon. Edward Lloyd, of Wye, President of the Council and Acting Governor of Maryland, 1709-1714.

57-58

MUSCIPULA:

The Mouse Trap, or the Battle of the Cambrians & the Mice;

A POEM

BY

EDWARD HOLDSWORTH,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

R. LEWIS.

ANNAPOLIS, 1728.

To His Excellency

BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT,[1]

Governour, and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of MARYLAND.

PERMIT GREAT SIR! a Visit from (the Muse,
Nor to her *comic Tale* your Smile refuse:
With humble Duty she persumes to lay
Before your curious View, — This FIRST ESSAY
Of *Latin Poetry*, in *English Dress*,
Which MARYLAND hath publish'd from the Press.
Could I preserve that Beauty in *my Lays*,
Which HOLDSWORTH'S[2] bright Original displays;
I need not, then, the *Critick's* Censure fear,
Secure to please the most judicious Ear.
But all TRANSLATORS must with Grief confess,
that while they strive in ENGLISH to express
vi
The pleasing Charms of *Latin* Poësy,
They lose its genuine Life, and Energy:
Some Grace peculiar thro' each Language flows,
Which other Idioms never can disclose.
Besides, in all GOOD * POETRY, we find

* Poetry, (says Sir *John Denham* in his admirable Preface before the Translation of the 2d *Æneid*,) is of so subtile a Spirit, that in pouring out of One Language into Another, it will all evaporate; and if a new Spirit be not added in the Transfusion, there will remain nothing but a *Caput Mortuum*.

A *Spirit* of a most exalted kind:
To pour it off, in vain the *Artist* tries,
The *subtile Spirit* in *Transfusion* flies
And the *insipid Version*, lifeless lies.
These Hardships, on the *happiest Muse*, attend,
With Candor, then, *my artless Verse* befriend:
Nor *Here*, expect such "*soft enchanting Strains*,"
As once You heard on fair ITALIAN PLAINS;
Where, the kind Climate does the Muse inspire
With Thoughts sublime, and gay poetic Fire;
Where VIRGIL, OVID, HORACE, struck the Lyre:
Who still demand our Wonder, and our Praise;
Nor spite, nor Time, shall ever blast their Bays.

vii

There PAINTURE breathes, *There* STATUARY lives,
And MUSIC most delightful Rapture gives:
There, pompous Piles of *Building* pierce the Skies,
And endless Scenes of *Pleasure* court the Eyes.
While *Here*, rough Woods embrown the Hills and Plains,
Mean are the *Buildings*, artless are the *Swains*:
"*To raise the Genius*," WE no Time can spare,
A *bare Subsistence* claims our utmost Care.
But from the Gen'rous Purpose of *Your* Heart,
Which, in † *Your Speech* [3] you graciously impart;
To give to VIRTUE its deserved Applause,
To punish daring VICE, by wholsom Laws;
To animate the PEOPLE, now dismayed,
And add new Life to our declining TRADE;
We hope to see soft Joys o'erspread the *Land*,
And *happier Times* deriv'd from *Your Command*.
For should Your EXCELLENCY'S Plan take Place,
Soon will returning *Plenty* shew its Face:
The *Markets* for our STAPLE,[4] would advance,
Nor shall we live, as *now* we do, by CHANCE.

viii

No more, the lab'ring PLANTER shall complain
How *vast* his *Trouble*! but how *small* his *Gain*!
THE MARINER shall bless you, when releast
From Toil, which sunk him down from *Man* to *Beast*.

---

† *Oct.* 10, 1727.

DEDICATION

The MERCHANT, shall applaud your Care, to free
His freighted Vessel from the *Wintry Sea.*
And *Husbands, Brothers, Sons,* from *Shipwreck* save'd,
In Climes remote, with Joy shall be receiv'd;
And thankful, tell their *Mothers, Sisters, Wives,*
That YOU, next PROVIDENCE, preserv'd their Lives.
WHEN *Records,* which to *You,* their Being owe,
These *Acts* to *late Posterity* shall show;
Our *Children's Children* shall extol YOUR Name,
And YOUR'S shall equal your great GRANDSIRE'S Fame,
HIM, shall they stile the *Founder* of the *State,*
From YOU its *Preservation* shall they date.
Oh, may kind HEAV'N regard me, while I pray,
That these great Blessings, might attend YOUR Sway!
May *Peace* harmonious, in our *Councils* reign,
And no *Dissensions* make their Meeting vain!

ix

May the PREROGATIVE receive no Wound,
And PRIVILEGE preserve its proper Bound!
May ALL our SENATORS, with honest Zeal,
To PRIVATE GAIN prefer the PUBLIC WEAL!
Then, shall *Their Actions* due Applause obtain,
And ARTS POLITE, shall shine in this DOMAIN;
Then, shall some future *Bard* THEIR Praise rehearse;
And paint YOUR *happy Rule* in *never-dying Verse.*
But while thus fondly I persue my Rhyme,
And trespass on Your EXCELLENCY'S Time,
Against the PUBLIC I commit a Crime.
YET — hear me! — while I beg you to excuse,
This bold Intrusion of an *unknown Muse*;
And if her Faults too manifest appear,
And her rude Numbers should offend your Ear,
Then, if you please with your forgiving Breath,
Which can reprieve the Wretch condemn'd, from Death,
To speak a Pardon for her Errors past,
This FIRST Poetic Crime, shall prove her LAST.

THE

PREFACE.

THE enexpected Encouragement, which hath been given to the *following Translation*, is, I must acknowledge, much greater than it merited: But that I might in some Measure, deserve the Benevolence, with which this small Performance hath been entertain'd, I have endeavoured to render it more perfect than it appeared in the *Copy*, which was presented to the *Subscribers*: On this Account the *Publication* hath been deferred, for some Time; but that Delay, will I hope be excused, when it is known, that I have translated the greatest Part of the Poem a-new; and have printed the *Latin* with it, that my *Friends* may find some Satisfaction in the *Original*, if my *Version* should have the Ill-fortune to displease them.

It would be disingenuous not to confess that there are many Faults in this Piece; but it would be a needless Act of Humility, to point them out, particularly; since, by printing the *Latin* and *English* in *one View*, they will easily be discovered; and however imprudent I may be thought, for setting my Failures in so clear a Light, yet I persuade my self, that *Men of Learning* will treat me with Indulgence, because they are sensible that it is very difficult to succeed *happily*, in translating Poetry. Mr. *Dryden*, an approved Judge,

Judge, in Things of this Nature, in his Preface to *Ovid's Epistles*, hath enumerated the Hardships, which a *Translator* must undergo, in rendring an Author, into *English Verse*, especially *Rhyme*: And my *Lord Roscommon*, is allowed to speak very justly, in the Motto of my Title-page, where he says, that —— *Good Translation* is no *easy* Art.

I am not so arrogant, as to call This a *Good Translation*, but since it is acknowledged, to be a Matter of much Difficulty, to translate well; I hope to pass at least uncondemn'd, if *It* appears to be but a *tolerable Version*; and that my *English Readers* will not be displeased with an Attempt, to shew them a *Draught* of a celebrated Poem, though it falls vastly short of the Beauties of its *Original*.

THAT I might do my Author all the Justice in my Power, I have avoided the *Libertinism* of a *Paraphrast*, on one Hand, and the *Idolatry* of a *mere literal Translator*, on the other. The *Sentiments* of an *Original*, ought to be preserved, with all *possible Exactness*, but they are too frequently disregarded in a *Paraphrase Translation*. And nothing can be more ridiculous, and unentertaining, than a *too faithful* Attachment to the *Phrase* of a Writer; and a *tyrannic* Endeavour, to confine a *Latin Poet*, to express his Thoughts, in *English*, by the *same* Number of *Lines*, and *Words*, which He thought *sufficient* for *that* Purpose, in the *Roman Language*.

THIS Poem, is of the *Mock Heroic*, or *Burlesque* Kind, of which, there are *two* Sorts. *One*, describes a *ludicrous Action*, in *Heroic Verse*; such is The *Rape of the Lock*: The *Other* under *low Characters*, and in *odd*, *uncommon* Numbers, debases some great Event; as *Butler* has done, in his celebrated *Hudibras*; which would have been still more *truly comical* in the Opinion of an *excellent Judge*, if it had been written in the *Heroic Measure*.

I am sensible that Performances of the *mirthful* Sort, are look'd upon as *Trifles*, by many *serious Persons*; and my *Readers* of *that Temper*, may think the Time mispent, which was imployed in translating this Piece: But as an Example of the *same* Nature, may moderate the Rigor of their Judgement; I shall take Leave to inform them, that Dr. *Parnell*, the ingenious Author of an *Essay* on *Homer*, prefix'd

prefix'd to Mr. *Pope*'s Version of the *Iliad*, hath translated *Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, and gives this Account of it: —— "The *Batrachomyomachia*, is one of *Homer*'s in-"contestable Works; and however it has been disputed, is "allowed for His, by many Authors: Amongst whom "*Statius* (in his *Praef. ad Sylv.* I.) hath reckon'd it like "the *Culex* of *Virgil*, a Tryal of his Force before his greater "Performances. It is indeed a beautiful Piece of Rallery, "in which a great Writer may delight to unbend himself; "an instance of that agreeable Trifling, which hath been "at some Time or other indulged by the finest Genius's, "and the Offspring of that amusing and cheerful Humour, "which generally accompanies the Character of a rich "Imagination, like a Vein of *Mercury* running with a "Mine of *Gold*."

LET me not then be blamed for imitating the Diversions of the most sublime Writers; and admit this other Plea in my Behalf, that Translations from *Latin* into *English*, are the most certain Means of Improvement, in each of those Tongues; and therefore, an Exercise of this kind, cannot be thought improper for One who is engaged in teaching Language. This slight Attempt in Poetry, has been, to Me, a pleasing Amusement, in the Intervals of a very fatiguing Employment; and I have the more readily given into this Entertainment, because I thought it innocent: For I assure my *Readers*, that I had no intention to derogate from the Honour of the *Cambrians*, or their celebrated St. *David*; nor does That appear to be the Design of my Author; for he averrs to his Patron, "That he should "have been very base, if he had intended by this Trifle, "to cast a Reproach on so illustrious a Nation as the *Welsh*; "but that this Recreation of his Muse, was of too "light a Nature, to detract in the least, from the Fame of "the *Cambro-Britons*, or afford any just Occasion for blam-"ing the Author,—however he may be condemmed by "testy Judges."

BUT if the *Cambrians* will not allow the *Author's* Excuse; the Translator hopes to be acquitted by those Gentlemen, on account of the Annotations, at the End of the Piece; which he hath collected, that the *true Britons*, for whom he

he professes all due Veneration, might receive that Justice from the *Notes* to the *Mouse-Trap*, which seems to be denied them in the *Poem*.

MY Friends, to whom I am obliged for the Subscriptions to my first Production, are desired to accept my Thanks for their Good-Will towards me; and as I have not the Pleasure of a *Personal* Acquaintance with many of them, I thought it my Duty to acknowledge their Favours by printing their Names, though it may look as if I was rather indulging my own Vanity, than discharging a Debt of Gratitude, while I mention in *this publick manner*, those Favours which it is an Honour to ME, to have receiv'd.

FOR my own Part, I have too mean an Opinion of my self to suppose *this Honour* was paid to *my Merit*; but attribute the Civilities I have found, to a *generous Disposition in the Province*, to encourage *Learning*; and I hope, some abler Hand may be excited to entertain the *Public*, after a *more elegant* Manner, when it shall appear from the subsequent List, that the *smallest* Attempt to cultivate *polite Literature*, in MARYLAND, has been received with such ample Testimonies of Candor and Generosity.

A LIST

A

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The Hon. Col. William Holland	*Two*
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Mr. Hyde Hoxton	
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Edmund Jenings, *Esq*;	*Two*
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Mr. Mich. Macnemara *Six*
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Mr. John Middleton *Two*
Mr. A. Miller
Mr. Samuel Minskie
Mr. Ebenezer Mors
Mr. John Moorcock
Mr. James Muir
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Mr. Lingan Wilson
Dr. Henry Witham
Edward Wright, *Esq*;
Mr. Amos Woodward *Two*
Mr. William Wootton

Y.

Col. Samuel Young
Mr. William Young

MUSCIPULA,

SIVE

KAMBPOMYOMAXIA.

MONTICOLAM Britonem *qui primus Vincula* Muri
Finxit, & ingenioso occlusit carcere Furem,
Lethalesq; dolos, & inextricabile fatum
Musa refer ———

———*Tu* Phoebe *potens, (nam te quoq; quondam*
Muribus infestum *dixerunt* Smynthëa *Vates)*
O faveas; & tot Cambrorum *e Montibus, unum*
Accipiens vice Pindi, *adsis, dum pingere versu*
Res tenues, humiliq; juvat colludere musa.

MUS, inimicum animal, praedari, & vivere rapto
Suetum, impunè diu, spolii qua innata libido
Jusserat, erravit, sceleratam exercuit artem
Impavidus, saliensq; hinc illinc, cuncta maligno
Corrupit dente, & patinâ malè lusit in omni.
Nil erat intactum, sed ubiq; domesticus hostis
Assiduus conviva aderat, non moenia furtis

THE

MOUSE-TRAP,

OR THE

BATTLE (*a*) of the CAMBRIANS and MICE.

THE MOUNTAIN-DWELLING BRITON who design'd
A MOUSE-TRAP first, and safe in Jail confine'd
His thievish Foe; — th' inextricable fate
Th' ingenious deathful wiles, O Muse relate!

(*a*) *See the Notes at the End.*

Thou potent PHOEBUS! (for as Poets sing,
TO MICE, thou once didst great destruction bring;
Whence, in their Writings, (*b*) SMYNTHEUS is thy name,)
Be present, and propitious to my Theme!
For one of (*c*) CAMBRIA'S Hills, quit (*d*) PINDUS' Mount,
While I, in lowly Lays, do humble Deeds recount.

THE MOUSE, a noxious animal of prey,
By rapine fed, unpunish'd, wont to stray
Where innate lust of plunder led the way,
Persu'd his wicked arts without controll,
And fearless, did in peace and plenty roll.
Now here, now there he rov'd, a nimble thief,
Each dish debauching with malignant teeth.
Nothing was left untouch'd, at every feast
The Household-Foe was an assiduous guest;
Nor bars nor walls his ravage could resist.

6

Obstare, aut vectes poterant servare placentas
Robustaeve fores; quâ non data porta, peredit
Ipse sibi introitum, dapibusq; indulsit inemptis.

PESTIS at haec totum dum serpsit inulta per orbem,
Cambria *praecipue flevit, quia* Caseus *illic*
Multus olet, quem Mus *non aequé ac plurima, libat,*
Aut leviter tantûm arrodit, sed dente frequenti
Excavat, interiusq; domos exculpit edules.

GENS tota incensa est super his, rabiesq; dolorq;
Discruciant animos, frendent, juga summa pererrant,
Stare loco ignorant; nam Cambris *prona furori*
Corda calent, subitâq; ignescunt pectora bile,
Cum Digitis credas animos quoq; Sulphure *tinctos.*

8

ERGO, jubente Irâ, dignas cum sanguine paenas
Sumere decretum est, sed quâ ratione Latronem
Tam cautum illaqueent, quo vindice furta repellant
Incertum; nequé Felis *enim tua,* Cambre, *tueri*
Tecta, nec adversis poterat succurrere rebus.
Illa quidem varias posuit circum ora Cavernae
Insidias, tacitoq; pede ad cava limina repens
Excubias egit; frustrâ: Mus *nempe pusillo*
Corpore securus, tanto & praestantior hoste
Quo minor, intentum praedae si fortê videret
Custodem ante fores, retro irruit, inq; recessus
Aufugit curvos, atq; invia Felibus *antra:*

7

Unsafe were cakes, within the strongest gates,
Thro' them a passage for himself he eats;
With unbought dainties he regal'd his taste,
And by his conqu'ring teeth laid strongest bulwarks waste.

WHILE thro' the Globe this Plague resistless creeps,
CAMBRIA thereby afflicted, chiefly weeps;
For there much CHEESE emits a sav'ry scent,
Which gave the MOUSE more fullness of content
Than other kinds; with which, in wanton waste,
He, slightly-nibbling, gratifies his taste:
In This, with frequent teeth he form'd a cave;
Which at one time, both food and shelter gave.

WHEN thus insulted, the whole Nation burns,
And Grief and Rage perplex their Minds by Turns;
They gnash their teeth, and restless, shift their place,
And o'er the mountains take their wand'ring ways:
For CAMBRIAN hearts soon glow with native ire,
Such sudden passion does their breasts inspire,
You'd think their sulph'rous HANDS had set their
SOULS on fire.

9

BY Fury prompted, they at once decree
To kill the MOUSE, and set the Nation free.
But then, alas! no human art could show
How to entrap so vigilant a Foe:
Nor could thy CAT the suff'ring State befriend,
O CAMBRIAN! or thy domes from foes defend.
Oft'times, indeed, in Ambuscade she lay,
That thus she might her enemy betray;
Soft-creeping, then, she to his cavern stole,
And watch'd with sharpen'd Sight, the mazy Hole.
Vain were her Arts, the MOUSE, uncurs'd with bulk,
Around the passes of his den would skulk;
And if he saw the CAT, intent on prey,
Besiege his Fort, soon backward took his way,
To winding dark recesses made his flight,
And Caves invisible to CATTISH sight;

10

Inde caput metuens iterúm proferre, nec ausus
Excursus tentare novos, nisi castra moveret
Praedo, *atq; omne aberat vigili cum* Fele *peric'lum.*

SIC Cambri (Cambros *liceat componere* Muri)
Elusere Hostes, cúm Julius, *orbe subacto,*
Imperio adjecit Britonas; *sic nempé recessit*
Ad latebras Gens tota, & inexpugnabile vallum,
Montes; sic sua saxa inter, medioq; ruinae
Delituit tuta, & desperans vincere, vinci
Noluit; hinc priscos memorant longo ordine Patres,
Indomitasq; crepant Terras, Linguaeq; senectam.

12

FELINOS *igitur postquam* Mus *saepiús ungues*
Fugerat, & Britoni *Spes non erat ulla salutis*
A socio Belli, *supremo in limite Terrae*
Concilium accitur, quâ nunc Menevia *plorat*
Curtatos Mitrae titulos, & nomen inane
Semi-sepultae Urbis; properant hinc inde frequentes
Patresq; Proceresq; & odorum Sulphure *vulgus.*

TUM Senior, cui saepé suis in Montibus Hircus
Prolixam invidit barbam; cuiq; oru manusq;
Prisca *incrustavit* Scabies, *spectabilis aulâ*
Stat mediâ, fractus senio, Postiq; *reclinis*
Cambrorum *vexato humeris; & gutture ab imo*

11
Nor new excursions daring thence to make,
Unless the Spoiler should the Camp forsake;
With fearful Caution he conceal'd his head,
'Till with GRIMALKIN all the danger fled.

THE CAMBRIANS thus escap'd the raging war,
(If we to MICE may CAMBRIANS compare,)
When mighty (*e*) JULIUS by his dreadful Sword,
Compell'd the conquer'd Globe to call him Lord;
While their poor neighbor BRITONS were subdu'd,
The CAMBRIANS did his potent Arms elude;
Thus to their Mountains the whole Nation fled,
Ramparts impregnable, by Nature made:
Despair of Conquest drove them from the Field,
Yet still their haughty Souls disdain to yield;
Amidst their Rocks and Ruins they retreat,
There safely lurking, they preserv'd the State;
Hence their most tedious pedigrees they boast,
Their Antique Tongue, and (*f*) Freedom never lost.

13
TH' insulting MOUSE did now the arms defy
Of CAMBRIA, and GRIMALKIN, her Allie:
With bold incursions he disturb'd their rest,
And banish'd hope from every BRITISH breast.
At length a solemn Council by command,
Meets on th' extremest limit of the land,
Where now (*g*) St. DAVID'S does her Fate deplore,
An empty Name; her Prelates are no more,
Half-buried sinks her City on the Shore.
Elders and Nobles here promiscuous crowd,
With those whose sulph'rous scent confess'd their vulgar blood.

THE SENIOR then, whose beard prolix had been
By Mountain-Goats with envy often seen;
With Scurf incrusted were his hands and face,
A Scurf hereditary to his Race,
Conspicuous, in the midst assumes his place:
His limbs decrepit 'gainst a post recline'd,
Which, polish'd by the backs of CAMBRIANS, shine'd

14

Densas praecipitans Voces, non inquit aperto
De bello sed furto agitur; non exterus hostis,
Sed majus graviusq; malum, nimis intimus hospes,
Compulit huc populum; dominabitur usq; Tyrannus
Mus *petulans? Vos ergo* Patres, *venerabilis Ordo,*
Quéis patriae pretiosa salus, finite dolores
Consilio tantos, & si spes ulla supersit,
Propitias adhibete manus; sic Cadwalladeri
Dum clarescat honos, vestra hic quoq; gloria crescet.

DIXIT, & ante oculos fragmenta, & mucida tollens,
Frustula, Relliquias furti, monumenta rapinae,
Exacuit Cambrorum *iras: Nunc aemulus Ardor*

16

Vindictae, nunc laudis amor, sub pectore Patrum
Ardet, inauditam meditatur quisq; ruinam
Muri, Muscipulamq; *statim extudit omne cerebrum.*

AT quidam ante alios notus Cognomine Taffi,
Et Magis ingenio celebris, (cui Wallia *nunquam*
Æqualem peperit, Faber *idem, idemq;* Senator
Eximius,) sic orsus erat; si gloria Gentis
Caseus *intereat, metuo ne tota colonum*
Deficiat coena, & Mensae *decus omne* Secundae
Divitibus pereat; quoniam ergo Wallica *virtus*
Et Feles *nequeant superare haec Monstra, fabrilis*
Dextera quid possit, quid machina vafra doliq;
Experiar; "Dolus, an virtus quis in hoste requirit?"

15

From his deep throat the clustring accents broke
Precipitant, and thus aloud he spoke:
Not open War constrains us here to meet,
But private Theft, impov'rishing our State;
An Inmate-Guest, and not a foreign foe,
Excites our deepest grief, our weightiest woe;
Shall MICE, with petulancy arm'd, maintain,
Maugre our best efforts, their tyrant-reign?
Ye FATHERS! whose Degree we all revere,
If to your hearts the Common-weal be dear,
Let your sage Counsels yield us some relief,
And with your helping hands remove our load of grief;
Thus, while (*h*) CADWALLADER'S bright fame shall live,
So long to you shall men due honour give.

HE said, and rais'd the scraps of CHEESE in view,
Unsightly fragments, of a mouldy hue;
Reliques of theft, and monuments of spoil;
With rancrous Rage the CAMBRIAN Bosoms boil:

17

And now revenge, and now the love of Praise,
Does in their breasts an em'lous ardor raise;
Each vows the foe shall feel unheard-of pain,
And MOUSE-TRAPS in Idëa fill each brain.

BUT one, whose Cunning was diffus'd by Fame,
Beyond the rest, and TAFFY was his name,
(Black-smith and Senator, sublime he shone
In each Capacity;—his equal none
Was ever born in WALES,) to speak begun:
Great are the fears which my poor breast assail,
Lest CHEESE, the glory of our Nation fail;
Then shall the Plowman his whole supper lose,
Nor can the Rich their SECOND COURSE produce;
Since CAMBRIAN valour yields us no relief,
Nor can our CATS oe'rcome the monster thief,
I'll try what this mechanic hand can do,
If guileful Traps will these our Foes subdue;
"And when Success an Enemy attends,
"Who asks if FRAUD, or FORCE obtain'd his Ends?

18
TALIA jactantem circumstant undiq; fixis
Haerentes oculis, speratag; gaudia laeto
Murmure certatim testantur, & unde salutem
Promissam expectent, rogitant, ardentque doceri.

ILLE caput scalpens, (nam multùm scalpere Cambris
Expedit) horrendùm subrisit, & ora resolvens
Talia verba refert. Cùm fessus membra quieti
Hesternâ sub nocte dedi, & sopor obruit altus
Lumina, Mus *audax sectatus, opinor, odores*
Quos non concoctus pingui exhalavit ab ore
Caseus, *accessit furtim, & compage solutis*
Faucibus irrepsit, jamque ipsa in viscera lapsus,
Crudas ventris opes rapere, hesternamque paravit
Heu! malè munito furari è gutture caenam;
20
Excussus subitò somnis, sub dente Latronem,
Dum resilire parat, prensi, frustràque rebellem
Mordaci vinc'lo astrinxi: Sic carcere Murem,
Posse capi instructus, nova mox ergastula, mecum
Haec meditans, statui fabricare, animoque catenas
Effinxi tales, mihi quas suggesserat oris
Captivus. Mirum O! quali regit omnia lege
Dextra arcana Jovis! *Quàm caecis passibus errat*
Causarum series! Nobis Mus *ipse salutem*
Invitus dedit, & quos attulit ante dolores
Tollere jam docuit; neve hunc habuisse magistrum
Vos pudeat, Patres; "*Fas est vel ab Hoste doceri.*"

19

IN joyful murmurs, the surrounding throng
Applaud the boastful accents of his tongue;
With wishful Eyes they beg their promis'd joys,
And, ardent, hope their safety from his voice.
HE scratch'd his head, (for to the CAMBRIAN race
Scratching yields much delight,) with horrid grace
He sneer'd, and then wide-gaping, thus he said;
Last night, when deepest sleep my eyes o'erspread,
And wrapt my weary limbs in soft repose,
A daring MOUSE, attracted I suppose
By unconcocted CHEESE, in od'rous fumes
Exhaling from my greasy mouth, presumes
Thro' my dissever'd teeth to steal his way,
And make the treasure of my guts his prey;

21

Which quickly would have been the dire event,
Had not I, waking, spoil'd his curs'd intent;
Shut fast my mouth, to hold the glutton-thief,
And made our Foe the captive of my teeth:
Struggling, the Rebel strove to 'scape, in vain;
Tenacious bonds his backward flight restrain.
Thus when I was by sure experience taught
That MICE might be in artful Prisons caught,
Musing thereon, such fetters I design'd,
As first the Foe suggested to my mind.
O! by what mystick law does JOVE'S right hand,
Wond'rous to thought, the Universe command!
Thro' what blind mazes mighty causes err!
A Series, in "confusion regular"!
The MOUSE, unwilling, mollifies our grief,
And he, who gave the wound, now brings relief;
Nor for the teacher's sake the skill despise,
'Tis no disgrace to learn what Foes advise.

22

HÆC ubi dicta, domum repetit, comitantur euntem
Plaudentes populi, atque benigna laboribus optant
Omina. Tum celeri sua quisque ad limina cursu
Nuncius it, Laribusque refert, quae munera Taffi
Ingenio speranda forent; dumque ordine narrant
Omnia, dumque Deis ut tanta incoepta secundent,
Vota ferunt, monitae praesago pectore Feles,
Plus solito lusere, & (si fas credere Famae)
Sub manibus matrum saliere coagula lactis.

Intereâ TAFFI *manibusque animoque vicissim*
Instat magno operi, & "Divinâ Palladis *arte*
Muscipulam *aedificat"; fit machina mira, novaque*
Induitur vultûs specie Tragi-comica *moles.*

24

QUIN age, si tibi, Musa, vacat, spectacula pandas
Infantis fabricae, & percurrens singula, totam
Compagem expedias. Quadrati lamina ligni
Summum imumque tegit; Filorum ferreus ordo
Munit utrumque latus, parvisque uti fulta columnis
Stat domus; Introitus patet insidiosus, amicum
Muribus *hospitium ostentans; sed desuper horret*
Janua, perniciem minitans, tenuique Ruina
Suspensa est Filo; (usque adeò sua stamina Parcae
Muribus *intexunt, & pendent omnia Filo.)*
In summo tecti, mediâque in parte tabellae,
Stat lignum, erectum, scisso cum vertice, cui Trabs
Parvula transversim inseritur, justèque libratas
Utrinque extendit palmas, quarum altera quantùm
Deprimitur, tantùm annexam levat altera Portam.

23

HE said, and to his mansion strait repairs;
Th' applauding throng accompany with Pray'rs,
And wish good omens may attend his cares.
Swift-running then they seek their own abodes,
And fondly tell before their house-hold Gods,
What public blessings they expect to gain,
From some brave work of TAFFY'S pregnant brain;
And while they ev'ry circumstance repeat,
And humbly, from the Gods success intreat,
The CATS admonish'd, with presageful mind,
Were more than usually to play incline'd,
And milky curds, (if we may credit Fame,)
Dancing beneath her hands, amaze'd each Dame.

MEAN-TIME with head, and hands, great TAFFY tries
To frame the mighty work, his dire device,
At length, he builds a MOUSE-TRAP; which was made
Like the fame'd (*i*) TROJAN HORSE, by PALLAS' aid:
Appears the TRAGI-COMIC pile in view,
A dread Machine, most wonderful and new.

25

AND thou, my Muse, if time admits Delay,
The infant-fabric trace with swift survey,
And the whole structure, in each part, display!
Quadrangular in form, the roof, and floor,
Of two flat boards are made; plain and secure:
Each side is guarded with a steely row
Of wires, which like to slender columns show,
Fix'd on these slender columns stands the house,
Th' insidious open entrance shews the MOUSE
An hospitable Inn,—but o'er his head,
Threatning destruction, by a feeble thread
A gate suspended, fills the heart with dread;
(Alike, on MEN and MICE, the Fates attend,
Their Lives, alike, on feeble *Threads* depend;
Which, when the (*k*) CRUEL SISTER cuts alike
(their Days must end.
Amid the roof, a post is seen to rise,
Which holds a transverse beam, of smaller size,
On either side, its well-pois'd arms extend,
The one depress'd, the other must ascend,

26

Interiore domo, per Tecti exile foramen
Demissum pendet ferrum, quod mobile ludit
Hùc illùc facili tactu; curvatur in Hamum
Infima pars, Escamque tenet; Pars altera prendit
Perfidiosa trabem extremam, at cùm senserit Hostem
Lethales gustâsse cibos, mora nulla, solutam
Dimittit Portam, primumque ulciscitur ictum.

HIS ita dispositis, pendentem protinùs hamum
Induit insidijs TAFFI, *exitiosaque* Muri
Ipsa Alimenta facit, sed quò fragrantior esset
Caseus, *et* Murem *invitaret longiùs, escam*
Fatalem torret Flammis, vimque addit odori.

28

ET jam nox memoranda aderat, cùm fessa cubili
Membra levans Taffi, *juxta pulvinar amicum*
Muscipulam *statuit, fidoque satellite tutus*
Indulsit facili somno. Gens improba, Mures
Lascivi intereà exiliunt, noctisque silentis
Praesidio confisi errant: tum naribus acer
Mus *quidam, dux eximius, Dijs natus iniquis,*
Castra inimica petit, quo grato flamine tostus
Caseus *allexit. Venienti prima resistunt*
Clathra, aditumque negant; sed turpem ferre repulsam
Ille indignatus, munimina ferrea circum
Cursitat et crispat nasum, introitumque sagaci
Explorat barbâ; jamque irremeabile Limen
Ingressus, Votique potens, tristem arripit escam
Exitiumque vorat laetus, potiturque ruinâ.

27

And mounting, raise the Gate thereto annex'd;
In a small ope'ning of the roof, is fix'd
A pendent wire, which readily obeys
The facil touch, and this, or that way, plays;
Within the house, bent to a hook by art,
To hold the bait, appears its lower part,
The other End, perfidious, holds the Beam,
Where on the roof descends its arm extreme;
But when it feels the Foe has seiz'd the bait,
Down drops, without delay, the loosen'd gate,
The first assault avenging with his Fate.

With CHEESE, now TAFFY arms the pendent steel
And his Foes Death, does in their food conceal,
To which, that more it might inflame desire,
He adds new fragrance by the force of fire.

29

AND now the memorable night roll'd on;
TAFFY to ease his weary limbs lay down,
His friendly guardian TRAP was near him place'd,
While with soft slumber he his labours ease'd.
Mean-time, confiding to the silent gloom,
The MICE, lascivious, range around the room:
Their leader, born beneath some luckless Star,
Had smelt the flavour of the CHEESE from far;
Quick, to the fatal Trap he makes his way,
And storms its pillar'd sides to gain the prey;
In vain—! his strongest efforts they oppose;
Repuls'd, indignant, round the grates he goes,
And with sagacious beard, and wrinkling nose
Exploring, finds and passes thro' the Gate,
Irremeable, his bane, the direful bait
He seiz'd, and joyful, feasted on his Fate.

30

TAFFI, *exaudito strepitu, quem pendula porta*
Lapsa dedit, cubito erigitur, thalamoque triumphans
Exilit, impatiens discendi quis novus Hospes
Venerat. Intereà furit intùs Ridiculus Mus,
Et fronte et pedibus pugnat, jamque intervallis
Clathrorum caput impingit, Ferrumque fatigat
Dentibus insanis. Sic olim in Retia Marsus
Actus Aper, fremit horrendus, sinuosaque quassat
Vincula, ludibrium Catulis, diffusa per Armos
It spuma, arrectaeque rigent in pectore setae

POSTERA Lux oritur, decurrunt montibus altis
Praecipites Cambri, *nam cunctas venit ad aures*

32

Res nova; quippe Asinus, solitâ gravitate remissâ,
Et jam pigritiae oblitus, lascivior Hoedo,
Ascendit Montem, quâ Cambrum, *dissonus ore,*
Praeconem *simulans, ter rauco gutture rudens,*
Te celebrat TAFFI, *ter publica narrat amicis*
Gaudia. Bubo *etiam* (Cambrorum *dictus ab illo*
Tempore Legatus) *per compita ubique, per urbes*
Totâ Nocte errans, rostrum ferale fenestris
Stridulus impegit, cecinitque instantia Muri
Funera. Parturiunt Montes; *atque agmine denso*
Penbrochioe *multus ruit incola,* Merviniaeque,

31

DOWN from the hook, Lo the port-cullice falls!
Whose clangor from his slumber TAFFY calls,
TAFFY, triumphant, wild with hasty joy,
Leaps from the bed to see his welcom prey,
Who now imprison'd, fights with teeth, and nails,
Now madly, with his head, the grates assails;
And from the foe that once disturb'd the house,
Is now become a most RIDIC'LOUS MOUSE.
Thus, (if great things with mean we may compare)
A (*l*) MARSYAN Boar, compell'd into the Snare,
His stiff'ning bristles rears; — his bosom boils
With horrid rage, — he shakes th' entangling toiles;
Furious, he throws the whiten'd foam around,
The Forests, echoing to his grunts, resound;
Fearless, the Dogs around their prey resort,
And what was late their dread, is now their sport.

FROM lofty mountains, with the rising day,
Precipitant, the CAMBRIANS urge their way;

33

For to each ear the pleasing news had flown,
His wonted gravity the Ass laid down;
Now, nimbly-frisking, like a youthful Goat,
He mounts a Hill; and with discordant note,
Hoarse, like a CAMBRIAN Cryer, thrice he brays;
Thrice mentions TAFFY'S name with grateful praise:
Thrice to his Friends proclaims the public joys.
The Owl, likewise (from that important hour
Instyle'd the CAMBRIAN AMBASSADOUR)
Wand'ring about all night, with shrilling cries,
To ev'ry Town, thro' ev'ry Street he flies;
Clanging, he beats the Windows of each house,
And sings th' approaching fun'ral of the MOUSE.
The Mountains teem; and thick'ning oe'r the plains,
From (*m*) Pembroke, and (*n*) Mervinia rush the Swains;

34

Quique tenent Bonium & Mariduni *moenia vate*
Inclyta Merlino; *veniunt foecunda* Glamorgan
Quos alit, & Vagae *potor, rigidusque colonus*
Gomerici Montis. *Tum, circumstante coronâ,*
Illudit capto TAFFI, *iratumque lacessens,*
Nequicquam lucteris, (ait) damnaberis Arae
Victima prima meae, memorique haec limina tinges
Sanguine; Spes nulla est retrò fugientibus obstans,
Non exorandi Postes: Dabis improbe, Paenas
Pro meritis, Vitamque simul cum Carcerẽ linques.

VIX ea fatus erat, cùm ludicra Felis *aprico*
Culmine desilijt Tecti, quo saepe solebat,
Cruribus extensis, molli languescere luxu.

36

Aspicit instantem Captivus, & erigit aures,
Gibbosoque riget Tergo, nec limen apertum
Jam tentare audet, sed in ipso Carcere solam
Spem Libertatis ponens, sua vincula prensat
Unguibus hamatis, pedibusque tenacibus haeret.
Excutitur tamen; & Felis *rapidissima praedae*
Involat, & frustrâ luctantem evadere saevo
Implicat amplexu, crudeliaque oscula figit.
Nulla datur requies: agili sinuamine caudae
Gaudia testatur Victrix, & flexile Corpus
Lascivo versans saltu, modò corpore prono
Attentè invigilat Muri, *modò colla benignis*
Unguiculis leviter palpans, mentitur amorem

35

Those who inhabit * BANGOR swell the throng:
The Crowd, from (*o*) MARIDUNUM rolls along;
A City fame'd through-out the peopled Earth,
Prophetic MERLIN, thence derive'd his birth:
(*p*) GLAMORGAN'S well-fed Sons in order came,
And those who drink of (*q*) VAGA'S winding stream;
And they whose ploughs divide (*r*) MONTGOMERY'S Soil,
A rugged race, inure'd to care, and toil.
Th' incircling Crowd, well-pleas'd, on TAFFY waits,
While mirthful, He, his Captive irritates;
Condemn'd to bleed, thy struggling proves but vain,
Thou, the first Victim, shall my Altar stain;
Inexorable grates thy flight restrain:
Mischievous wretch! receive thy righteous doom!
Depart thy Prison — but possess thy Tomb!

THESE, his last words, the playful CAT attends,
And from the warm house-top, in haste descends;
Where, with extended legs, in times of peace,
She use'd to languish in luxurious ease.

37

The Captive saw his dreadful foe appear,
And soon, with stiff'ning ears, confess'd his fear;
With back up-heav'd, he fain would shrink from Fate,
Yet, coward, dares not fly, but shuns the open gate;
Unwilling from his Prison to be free,
In that, alone, his hopes of Liberty
Are place'd; — his bonds he labours to retain,
With claws tenacious clinging to his chain:
Superior force forbids his longer stay;
With swiftest speed the CAT invades her prey;
With cruel kisses She her foe persue'd,
Struggling, in vain, her savage grasp t' elude:
The Conqu'ror, now impatient of delay,
Swift writhes her twirling tail to shew her joy;
Then rolls her body in lascivious play:
Now, couchant, sees the hapless Pris'ner move;
Then, lightly pats his neck, and acts a treachr'ous love:

38

Dum lacerare parat; variâ sic arte jocosam
Barbariem exercet, lepidâque tyrannide ludit.

A T nugis tandem defessa, nec ampliùs Iram
Dissimulans, acuit Dentes, & more Leonis
Impasti, incumbit praedae; Jam pectore ab imo
Murmurat, & tremulos artus, & sanguine sparsa
Viscera dilaniat. Plebs circumfusa cruorem
Invisum aspiciens, laetis clamoribus implent
Æthera; clamoresque Echo, Cambrae *incola terrae*
Laeta refert; resonant Plinlimmonis *ardua moles,*
Et Brechin *&* Snowdon; *vicina ad sidera fertur*
Plausus, & ingenti strepit Offae Fossa *tumultu*

40

Tu, TAFFI *aeternùm vives; tua munera* Cambri
Nunc etiam celebrant, quotiesque revolvitur annus
Te memorant; Patrium Gens grata tuetur Honorem
Festivoque ornat redolentia Tempora Porro.

FINIS.

39

Jocosely bar'brous, thus, with various art,
She plays, with cruel mirth, a Tyrant's part.

AT length, grown weary of this trifling play,
She grinds her teeth, and gives her Fury way:
The Lion, thus, his hunger to asswage,
Incumbent o'er the prey, exerts his rage:
Inly she growls, her pleasure to attest,
With mangling teeth she tears his trembling breast,
His blood be-sprinkled bowels crown her feast.
The num'rous throng, that round about her stood,
Soon as they saw the foe's most odious blood;
With joyful clamours, fill th' ethereal Round,
ECHO, inhabitant of CAMBRIAN Ground,
In ev'ry place repeats the joyful sound;
(*s*) BRECHIN, and (*t*) SNOWDEN, feel the splutter-
(ing voice;
And vast (*u*) PLINLIMMON'S Rocks remurmur to the
(noise:
Their loud Applauses wound the neighb'ring skies,
And (*w*) OFFA'S distant DYKE the shouts replies.

41

THOU, TAFFY, shalt enjoy an endless state!
Thy Gifts, ev'n now, the CAMBRIANS celebrate;
Mindful of Thee, with each revolving Year,
Thy patriot name they joyfully revere;
Grateful, they guard their national renown,
And redolent with (*x*) LEEK their Temples crown.

The END.

Notes

Notes to the foregoing Piece.

THE Battle (*a*) *of the* CAMBRIANS *and* MICE.) The Original KAMBROMYOMACHIA, is an Imitation of BATRACHOMYAMACHIA, or The Battle of the *Frogs* and *Mice*, mention'd in the Preface; from whence the Greek Motto in the Title-page is taken, by which it Appears, that the *Trap* which hath proved so fatal to *Mice*, was known to *Homer*: Yet the Invention of that *destructive Machine*, does not belong to his Country-Men the *Greeks*, but to the *Cambrians*; if we may credit the *Author* of the *Muscipula*, who asserts, that his Design therein, was not to derogate from their *Honour*, but to vindicate that *Dignity* which justly belongs to their *famous Nation*. He acknowledges, (in his Dedication of the Piece, to *Robert Lloyd* Esq;) That the famous Actions of his Country-Men, would better have furnish'd sublime Images for an Epic Poem, than Materials for this ludicrous Performance; yet that the glorious Atchievements of the *Cambrians*, were not only unsuitable to a jocose Muse; but that even the *Latin* Language, was unequal to so noble a Subject, and it would have been unjust, to have described their gallant Deeds in any other Language, than that, which was spoken by the Heroes who performed them.

His only excuse, (since some People may fancy that He stands in Need of an Excuse,) is, That he wrote his Poem to celebrate the very great Antiquity of the *Cambrians*.

Greece, (says he) hath long since robbed many Nations of their Honour, and arrogantly assumed their Inventions for her own — From the *Chaldeans*, she stole her Astronomy; — From the *Phaenicians*, Letters; and even their *Jove* from the *Cretans*: But not contented with these Acquisitions,

sitions, she resolved to consummate her yet imperfect Glory, by adding the *Mouse-Trap* to her inventions. —— And now! what *Briton* can suppress his Choler! when he is told, that *Homer* (whose Writings are not, as 'tis thought, more than three thousand Years old) ascribes this stupendous Machine to a Modern Artificer, which derives its Original from a far more Antient Artist, and from the Ingenuity of the *Welsh-Men*.

He therefore, thought it *absolutely* necessary, to defend the Fame of *Wales*, lest the *Greeks* might seem to emulate the *Cambrians* in Antiquity; or *Homer*'s Engineer, deprive their *Taffy*, of his just Reputation.

I have translated this Account of the *Muscipula*, for the Satisfaction of the *Curious*; and to assure the *Censorious*, on the Word of my Author, That what they mistake for *Satyr*; was intended for a *Panegyric*, on the Antiquity of the *Cambrians*, and their Skill in Mechanic Arts.

(*b*) *Smyntheus*,) A Title of *Phoebus*, or *Apollo*, the fabled *God* of *Poetry*, given to Him by *Homer*, and other *Poets*. — He was worship'd under that Name, at *Tenedos*, and *Chrysa*, near *Troy*; in a Temple, wherein his Statue was placed, having a *Mouse* at his Feet: The Reason whereof was this, according to *Callinous* an antient elegiac Poet; A Colony from *Crete*, going to *Troas*, receiv'd an Oracle from *Apollo*, ordering them to settle in the Place, where the *Children of the Earth* should attack them; and one Night, an infinite Number of *Rats* and *Mice* gnaw'd to Pieces all their Bucklers and other Leathern Utensils; and this they took for an Accomplishment of the Oracle. — Madame *Dacier*'s Note on the Word in *Hom. II.* 1.

It may be supposed that *Apollo* destroyed these *Rats* and *Mice*, for *Smyntheus*, according to *Eustathius*, seems to be derived from σμινθος a *Mouse*, q. d. μυοκλονθ i. e. the Mouse-killer; which shews the propriety of the Epithet in this Place.

(*c*) *Cambria*,) *Wales*, so called from *Camber* King of that Country; the Son of *Brutus* who built *London*, and called it *Troja-nova* or *new Troy*, in Remembrance of *old Troy*; from

from whence his Grand-father *Æneas* came: He died 1139 Years before Christ. — *Milt.* Hist. *Engl.*

(*d*) *Pindus,*) A Mountain, dedicated to *Apollo* and the *Muses*; supposed to be the Residence of the former, lying in *Epirus* in *Greece*; now called *Lower Albany*, a Sea Province under the *Turks.*

(*e*) *When mighty* Julius, *by his dreadful Sword,*
Compell'd the conquer'd Globe to call him Lord;
While their poor Neighbor Britons *were subdu'd*
The Cambrians, *did his potent Arms elude,* &c.

It may be thought that this *Julius,* whose Conquests are said to be so Extensive, was *Julius Caesar*: But though he made two Expeditions into *Britain,* about 53 Years before *Christ,* yet the *Glory,* rather than the *Dominion* of *Rome* was encreased thereby; for notwithstanding his own Account of them, several Writers speak very doubtfully of his *British* Victories, and that in plain Terms, He was driven from the Island; as *Lucan,* in this noted Verse;

Territa quaesitis ostendit arma Britannis.
Fled from the *Britains,* whom his Arms had fought.

Horace, in a Compliment to *Augustus* says, The *Britains* were at that time untouch'd;

Intactus aut Britannus *ut descenderet.*
Sacra catenatus viâ.
Or *Britains yet untouch'd,* in Chains shall come,
To grace his Triumphs, thro' the Streets of *Rome.*

And *Tacitus,* a grave Historian, says, That *Julius Caesar* did not conquer *Britain,* but only shewed it to the *Romans.* So that our *Julius,* must be *Agricola*; who in the Time of *Domitian,* about 80 Years after *Christ,* subdued almost the whole *British* Nation; and among others, many of the *Cambrians* inhabiting *Herefordshire*; the rest fled into the Mountains and preserved themselves. The Words — *Orbe Subacto,* — must be read with Allowance for the Poetic License of putting the Whole for a Part. *Eachard. Milton. Cambden.*

(*f*) *Tedious*

(*f*) —— *Tedious Pedigrees they boast,*
Their antique Tongue, and Freedom never lost.

As the *Cambrians* are said to be the *true Britains* unmix'd with other People, their Families, and Language, are doubtless very antient. — They remain'd unconquered by the *Romans*; — *Tacitus*, and *Pliny*, say they were a hardy, stout, warlike People; averse to Servitude, of great Boldness, and Resolution; called by the *Romans* Obstinacy, and Stubbornness, not to be won by Threats or Kindness. — After the *Romans* had abandon'd *Britain*, and withdrawn their Forces; the other *Britons*, were miserably harrassed by the *Saxons*, but the *Cambrians* were secure, and free among their prodigious Rocks; — and confiding as well in their Strength and Courage, as in the Roughness and Scituation of their Country, which may seem, in a manner, as if *Nature* had design'd it for Ambuscades, and prolonging of War; they resisted all their Enemies, and preserved their Liberty; 'till the reign of *Edw.* I, when, (as he writes it of himself) *the Kingdom of* Wales *was subjected to him*: But in the next Age, nothing could induce them to endure this Servitude, nor could they be reconciled to the *English* Government, 'till *Hen.* VII, descended from the *Welsh*, was favourable and easy to them; and *Hen.* VIII, admitted them to the same Laws, and Liberties with the *English*; since that, and some Time before, the Kings of *England*, have found them of untainted Loyalty, and Obedience. — *Milt. Camd.*

(*g*) *Where now St.* David's *does her Fate deplore,*
An empty Name; her Prelates are no more,
Half-buried sinks her City on the Shore.

St. *David*'s lies in the more *Westerly* Parts of *Pembrokeshire*, on a Promontory, extended far into the *Irish* Sea. *W. Rufus*, seeing *Ireland* from hence, said *He could easily make a Bridge of Ships, whereby he might pass from Kingdom to Kingdom. Dewi*, a most religious Bishop, translated the Archiepiscopal Seat from *Kaer-Leion* hither; which from him was afterwards call'd *Ty Dewi*, i. e. *David*'s House,

And

And by the Moderns, St. *Davids*. It had its Archbishops for a long Time, but the Plague raging very much here, the Pall was translated to *Dôll* in *Little-Britain*, which was the End of this Archiepiscopal Dignity: The *Britains* in Latter Times, to regain it, commenced an Action against the A. B. of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan of *England* and *Wales*, but were cast. — What kind of City it was formerly, is hard to guess, seeing it has been frequently spoil'd by the *Danes*, *Norwegians* and other Pyrates; at present it is a very mean Place. *Camd.* Mr. *Ed. Lhywd. Heyl.*

(*h*) *While* Cadwallader'*s bright Name shall live.*

Cadwallader is said to have been the last King of the *Britains*, who having been thrown out by Faction, returned from Banishment, and invaded *Kentwin* the *West Saxon*; who had chased the *Welch Britains*, as is chronicled, tho' without Circumstance, to the very Sea Shore, about the Year 683; he proved victorious, then conquering the *Isle of Wight*, he gave the fourth Part of it to pious Uses; and being warned (as he thought) by an Angel, to go to *Rome*, he went thither; was baptized by — Pope *Sergius*, and called *Peter*; he put on a religious Habit, died 5 Weeks after his Baptism, in the Thirtieth Year of his Age, and was buried in St. *Peter*'s Church: His Successors were no longer called Kings of *Britain*, but Kings, or Princes of *Wales*. —— This Account of *Cadwallader* is collected from *Heylin*'s *Cosm.* and *Baker*'s Chron. But *Milton* says, that He, whom the *Britains* will have to be *Cadwallader*, their last King, was *Kedwalla* a *Saxon* of the Royal Line, and *Samme's* in his *Britannia*, says, That the *Britons*, mistaken by Similitude of Name, ascribe the Actions of the one to the other. — But the *British* King *Kedwalla*, or *Kadwallon*, was, perhaps, the famous *Cadwallader*, who with a great Army of *Britains*, joyning *Penda*, the *Mercian*; destroyed *Edwin*, the greatest King of all the *Saxons*, and a Christian, in Battle; and broke the Monarchy of the *Northumbrians*, which was chief in *Britain*. *Cadwallon* was a Christian, and *Penda* a Pagan; but the Christian King, is said (by *Milton*) to be more bloody than the Heathen; for he threaten'd

threaten'd to root out the whole Nation, tho' then newly Christian, and omitting nothing of barbarous Cruelty in the Slaughter of Sex or Age, ravaged the Province at his Pleasure, 'till at last, he was cut off by *Oswald* (Brother to *Eanfrid*, who being of the Royal Line, had been banished to *Scotland* by *Edwin*; and learn'd the Christian Religion there,) with a small Christian Army; and He, and his boasted invincible Forces, were destroyed at a Place call'd *Heavenfield* or *Hatfield* in *Yorkshire*, near the antient *Roman* Wall. *A. D.* 634. *Camd. Milt.*

(*i*) *At length he builds a* Mouse-Trap; *which was made,*
Like the fame'd Trojan Horse *by* Pallas' *Aid.*

Pallas, was the Heathen Goddess of Arts and Sciences,— The Original, exactly translated, would be — *At length he builds a* Mouse-Trap, by the Divine Art of *Pallas*: But as the *Author* has made Use of *Virgil*'s Words, wherein he mentions the building of the Horse, which proved so fatal to the *Trojans*; the *Translator* presumed that it would appear more ludicrous to make the Simile, which is not injurious to the *Author*'s Sense, who without doubt, had *that* famous *Machine* in View, when he applied *Virgil*'s Expression on that Subject, to his *Mouse-Trap.*

(*k*) *Alike, on* Men *and* Mice, *the Fates attend,*
Their Lives, alike, on feebie Threads *depend;*
Which, when the Cruel Sister *cuts, alike their Days must end.*

The *Parcae*, or *Fates*, according to *Ovid* in the Story of *Meleager*, pronounce the Fate of every one that is born; they were supposed to be three Sisters, their Names *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*. — To them was intrusted the Thread of Life: *Clotho*, draws the Thread between her Fingers: — *Lachesis*, turns the Wheel; — and *Atropos*, the most fatal of the Three, cuts the Thread which is spun, with a pair of Sheers. *Serv.* in *Virg. Æn.* I.

(*l*) *A* Marsyan *Boar compell'd into the Snare.*)

Marsya

Marsya, a Part of old *Italy*, was famous for having a Breed of wild Boars, of a vast Size, and great Fierceness: The Hunters, with their Dogs, drove them into the Toiles which they spread for them; and when they were intangled in the Nets, destroyed them.

(*m*) *Pembroke*,) The chief Town of *Pembrokeshire*, the most pleasant County of all *Wales*. It is one direct Street, on a narrow Point of Land, all Rock; close to the Walls, on both Sides, ebbs and flows a forked Arm of *Milfordhaven*, which contains sixteen Creeks, five Bays, thirteen Roads, and is the most spacious and secure Harbour in *Europe*. — *Heyl.* and Add. to *Camden*.

(*n*) *Mervinia*,) *Meirionydhshire*, in *North Wales*; of which *Giraldus Cambrensis*, quoted by *Camden* p. 655, saith, "That "it is the roughest and most unpleasant County of all *Wales*, "For the Hills are extraordinary high, and yet very narrow, "and terminating in sharp Peaks; nor are they thin scatter'd, "but placed very close; and so even in height, that the Shep-"herds frequently converse from the Tops of them, who yet "in case they should wrangle, and appoint a Meeting, can "scarce come together from Morning 'till Night." But in the Add. to *Camden*, p. 657, *Giraldus* is confuted.

(*) *Bangor*, in the Original, *Bonium*;) according to *Camd.* it lies in *Flintshire*, an eminent City in the Time of *Antoninus*, and afterwards a famous Monastery, in which saith *Bede*, "There were so many Monks, that when they were divided "into seven Parts, having each their distinct Ruler appointed "them; every one of those particular Societies, consisted of "three hundred Men at least, who all lived by the Labour "of their own Hands. — *Britan.* 556.

(*o*) *Maridunum*,) *Caer-mardhin*, is so called by *Ptolemy*, the chief Town in *West-Wales*; here *Merlin* was born, said to be the son of an *Incubus*, (or Devil who deluded his Mother in human Shape) who has the Reputation of an eminent Prophet, among the Vulgar. *Ninnius* mentions him

him first, but says, that *Merlin* confess'd to King *Vortigern*, that his Father was a *Roman*, which his Mother was afraid to own, lest she should be put to Death for it. All the Monkish Writers who mention him, call him either a Prophet, or Magician; they relate Wonders of him, and have preserved many Prophesies, pretended to be his: But *H. Lhwyd*, a judicious Author, says, he was a Man of extraordinary Learning, and Prudence; and that for some Skill in the Mathematicks, many Fables were invented of him by the Vulgar, which being afterwards put in Writing, were handed down to Posterity. *Camd.* p. 622, and the *Add.* to him. *Merlin* flourish'd, A. D. 480.

(*p*) Glamorgan's *well-fed Sons in order came.*) The Original is —— *Veniunt foecunda* Glamorgan *quos alit*, — They came, whom fruitful *Glamorgan* nourishes. —— *Glamorganshire*, is wash'd by the *Severn* Sea, on the *South*; on the *North* it is very rugged with Mountains, which inclining towards the *South*, become by Degrees more tillable, and spread into a spacious Plain, open to the *South* Sun, which is exceeding pleasant, for the Fertility of its Soil, and the Number of Towns and Villages there. *Camd.*

(*q*) *And those who drink of* Vaga's *winding Stream.*)
Vaga, — the River *Wye*; runs Southward from *Monmouth*, with many Windings and Turnings, (says *Camd.* p. 596.) which may justify the Epithet, *winding*, in *English*, though it is not expressed in the *Latin*; unless the Name *Vaga*, imports its winding Course. It's now the Limit between *Gloucestershire* and *Monmouthshire*, but was formerly the Boundary between the *Welsh* and *English*, — near *Chepstow* it falls into the *Severn* Sea.

(*r*) *Whose Ploughs divide* Montgomery's *Soil,*
A rugged Race enur'd to Care and Toil.
In the *Latin*, *rigidusq*; *Colonus* Gomerici *Montis*. *Montgomery*, tho' it be a mountainous, yet is it in general a very fertile Country; having fruitful Vales, as well for Pasture,

ture, as arable Land. *Camd.* The Inhabitants, are an industrious and laborious People.

(*s*) *Brechin.*) This seems to be a Mountain, but I find none of the Name in *Camd.* He says that *Brecknock*, the Chief Town of the Shire, derives its Name from Prince *Brechanius*, of whom *Giraldus* gives this remarkable Account, — That he had 24 Daughters, and that they were all Saints. — Two Miles to the *East* of *Brecknock*, is a large Lake, which *Giraldus* calls *Clamosum*, from the terrible Noice it makes like a Clap of Thunder, at the Cracking of the Ice. It was this Lake, perhaps, that resounded the Shouts of the Victors.

(*t*) *Snowdon.*) The Mountains of this Name lie in *Caernarvonshire*, *Camd.* calls them the *British Alps.* They are vastly high, and no less inaccessible than the Alps themselves; and do all of them, encompass one Hill, which far exceeding all the rest in height, seems, I shall not say to threaten the Sky, but even to thrust its Head into it. *Camd.* p. 663. Such as have not seen Mountains of this kind, are not able to frame any Idea of them, from the Hills of lower Countreys: For whereas such Hills are but single Heights, or Stories; these are heap'd upon one another; so that having climbed up one Hill, we come to a Valley, and most commonly to a Lake, and passing by that, we ascend another, and sometimes a Third and Fourth, before we arrive at its highest Peaks. *Add.* to *Camd.* 667. The Height of *Snowdon*, measur'd exactly by Mr. *Adams*, is 1247 Yards. *Derh. Astro. Theol.*

(*u*) *And vast* Plinlimmon'*s Rocks remurmur to the Sound.*) *Plinlimmon* rises to a great Height, and on that Side where it limits *Montgomeryshire*, sends out the River *Severn*; next to *Thames* the most noted River of *Britain*: It takes its Name, according to the Monkish Writers, from *Sabra*, who was thrown into it by *Guendoler*, Daughter of *Corineus* Duke of *Cornwal*; — Her Story may be found in a wretched Play, called *Locrine*; falsely attributed to *Shakespeare.*) —

Remurmur

Remurmur to the Sound.) — The Word *Remurmur*, is frequently used by Mr. *Dryden*; and by Mr. *Pope*, in these fine Lines, describing the Noise of an Army in their March.

Murmuring they move, as when old Ocean roars,
And heaves huge Surges to the trembling Shores,
And groaning Banks, are burst with bellowing Sound,
The Rocks remurmur, *and the Deeps rebound.*
Il. 2d. 249, &c.

(*w*) *Offa's* Dyke.) *Offa*, the Eleventh King of the *Mercians*, was the most valiant and powerful of all the *English Saxons*; he proved victorious in many Battles; but in the Year 776, all the *Britains* both of *N.* and *S. Wales*, joyning together, invaded the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and made terrible Devastation in many Parts of the Country, wasting all with Fire and Sword: Whereupon *Offa* was constrained to make a Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings; and to turn all his Forces against the *Welsh*, who, unable to resist so great a Power, were obliged to abandon all the plain Country, between *Wye* and *Severn*, and retire to the Mountainous Parts, upon which Advantage, *Offa* immediately seized all the plain Country, planted it with *Saxon* inhabitants, annexed it to his own Kingdom, and caused a Ditch, or Intrenchment, to be made from Sea to Sea between his Kingdom, and *Wales*, to defend his Country from future Invasion. *Ech.* p. 28. This Dyke extended from the Mouth of *Dee*, to that of the River *Wye*, for the Space of about 90 Miles; many Parts of it are still to be seen. *Joan. Salibur*, in *Polyerat.* writes, that *Harold* established a Law, that whatever *Welsh-Man* should be found arm'd, on this Side the Limit he had set them, *to wit*, *Offa*'s Dyke, his right Hand should be cut off by the King's Officers. *Camd.* p. 585. The Author of the *Addition* to *Camd.* says, that this Limit was not well maintained by the *English*; for the antient *British* Customs, and Names of Men, and Places, remain still, for some Space on the *English* Side, almost the whole Length of it. p. 587.

(*x*) *With* Leeks *their Temples Crown.*) It is said, That the Custom of wearing *Leeks* on St. *David*'s Day, had this Original:

Original: The *Welsh* gain'd a great Victory on that Day; the Battle was fought near a Place where many Leeks grew, which they pull'd up, and wore in their *Monmouth* Caps, to distinguish themselves from others, and they continue to wear them on that Anniversary, as an honourable Badge of their Bravery.

Whether the first of *March* was consecrated to the Memory of *Dewy*, or St. *David*, in the Note (*g*) who is thought to have suffered Martyrdom on that Day, or to *David*, the General in this Battle, I shall not determine, but leave it to the Criticks.

It may, in the Opinion of some Readers, who are unacquainted with the different Structure of *Latin* and *English* Verse, be thought a Fault in this *Translation*, that it contains more Lines than the *Original*; For their Satisfaction herein, I quote the following Passage, from the last Note, on the 23d Book of Mr. *Pope*'s *Odyssey*, with a little necessary Variation.

Mr. *Broome*, the Author of that Note, having observed that there are but few Lines more in the Translation of the 23d Book, than in *Homer*, proceeds thus, "I speak it not as if "this were a Beauty, it may as well be a Fault; Our He-"roic Verse consists but of Ten Syllables, the *Latin* of Fif-"teen; as in this Verse, — *Monticolam Britonem qui primus* "*vincula Muri*. We therefore write with the Disadvantage "of Five Syllables; which makes it generally impossible to "comprehend the Sense of One Line in the *Original*, within "the Compass of One Line in a *Translation*, with any *toler-*"*able Beauty*; but in some Parts where the Subject seemed "to hang heavy, this has been attempted; with what Suc-"cess must be left to the judicious Reader." — From hence it appears, that Two Lines of the *Latin*, contain as many Syllables as Three in *English Verse*; which will, I hope, justify me on this Account.

NOTES ON "MUSCIPULA."

(1). *Benedict Leonard Calvert*, son of Benedict Leonard, Fourth Lord Baltimore, and Lady Charlotte Lee, his wife, and brother of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, was governor of Maryland from 1727 to his death in 1732. He was a great-grandson of Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore and First Lord Proprietary, and succeeded Charles Calvert, who was a kinsman.

(2). *Edward Holdsworth* was born in Hampshire, England, in 1684 and died in Warwickshire in 1746. He was a distinguished Latin poet and classical scholar and travelled much in Italy. He spent the greater part of his life as private tutor in the families of the wealthy gentlemen. His poem "Muscipula," first appeared in 1709. It was very popular, and was translated into English ten times during the eighteenth century. He was a noted student of Vergil. The Dictionary of National Biography contains a full sketch of him.

(3). On October 10, 1727, Governor Calvert opened the fourth session of the General Assembly, begun on October 6, 1725, with a speech in which he called attention to the death of George the First and the succession of George Second, to whom he recommends an address be sent from the Maryland Assembly. The Governor thanks the people, through their representatives, for their kind reception of him and promises to show "a perpetual attachment to your Interest." He recommends 1st, that "true Religious Worship and the Vertues becoming the Profession of Christianity be established," 2nd, that some method be found to render the Staple tobacco more beneficial. The British complain that it is shipped too late in the year, and that "Slavery is imposed on the Sailors by being obliged to Role it from far to the Waterside." The ships suffer from the worm, the sailors lose strength and the ships arrive in England in tempestuous season. Leaky ships and bad weather damage tobacco. 3rd, A reënactment of the Assize Law (which has expired) is needed to save witnesses and jurymen from the need of attendance at the Provincial Court by permitting certain cases to be tried at the County seats. 4th, The law regulating taverns should be continued. 5th, The commsssioners who had the old records copied should be thanked, the copies kept in a different place from the originals, so as to avoid danger from fire, and the Assembly Journals should be "transcribed into large and Strong Books." Harmony of action is urged. The Lord Proprietary "Neither desires the destruction of your Liberty nor of his own prerogative. To me he gave this just Rule

for my Administration that Prerogative and Privilege should have each their due."

(4). *Our staple,* of course, is tobacco.

(5). It has not seemed within the province of this reprint to add notes explaining all the allusions and quotations found in the poem and notes. On the last line of page 32 of the Latin text, Penbrochioe should probably read Penbrochiae. In the translator's notes, the pagination, but not the lineation, of the original has been preserved. The Greek quotation referred to on page 42 cannot be identified, as we have not the title page. The dedication to Robert Lloyd, referred to on the same page, was not reproduced in the Annapolis edition. On page 43, Smyntheus should be Smintheus, Callinous should be Callinus, and *μυοκλονθ*, *μυοκτόνος*. On page 44, last line, *b* should be omitted from Camden.

REV. THOMAS BRAY.

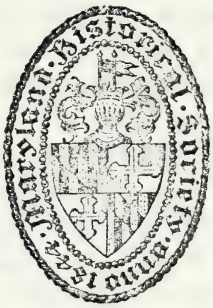
HIS LIFE AND SELECTED WORKS
RELATING TO MARYLAND

EDITED BY

BERNARD C. STEINER.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Fund Publication, No. 37.

REV. THOMAS BRAY.



HIS LIFE AND SELECTED WORKS RELATING TO MARYLAND

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Baltimore, 1901.

INTRODUCTION.

Rev. Thomas Bray was born at Marton, in Shropshire, England, in 1656, and died on February 17, 1730, in London. He was a graduate of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1678, and a clergyman of the Church of England. A man of unbounded energy and benevolence, he was the founder of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He is said to have interested Oglethorpe in the condition of the poor debtors, which interest resulted in the founding of the Colony of Georgia, and "Dr. Bray's Associates," founded by him, still support clerical libraries in England and negro schools in the Colonies. His part in the establishment of the Anglican Church in Maryland was an important one, though he spent only a few months in the Province. Most of all for us in the United States, does he deserve remembrance because of his admirable work in the way of establishing libraries both for clergy and laity throughout the "Plantations." He was the first advocate of the public library in America, and to his efforts was due the establishment of libraries in most of the parishes in Maryland and in the important towns of the other Colonies. In an article published in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. II, p. 59, I have traced with some care the fate of Dr. Bray's "American Libraries." We here print a life of Dr. Bray from an unpublished manuscript, and add to it reprints of some of his writings which particularly deal with the Province of Maryland. Among these is one which is the first extant imprint of any Maryland press, over a quarter of a century before Parks set up his *Annapolis Gazette* and more than ten years before Zenger came to Chestertown.

The life of Dr. Bray here printed is the basis of the printed life known as "Publick Spirit Illustrated," and of the sketch in the Dictionary of National Biography. The interest of Dr. Bray's career is not alone for Marylanders. His influence in the Anglican Church was a potent one, and from the pamphlets here reprinted we gain interesting glimpses of the varied enterprises in which he was engaged.

It is pleasant to be able to state that the Library of this Society possesses by far the most complete collection of Bray's works to be found in the United States.

As an appendix, we add Wyeth's "Answer to Dr. Bray's Letter," which shows the arguments of the party opposed to the establishment of the Anglican Church, and a most curious and interesting check list of the Maryland Assembly, showing the position of its members on the question of the establishment of the Church of England. The list was prepared by Mr. Thomas Smithson, speaker of the Lower House of the General Assembly.

9-10

A Short Historical Account Of the Life and Designs of THOMAS BRAY. D. D.

late

Vicar of

St BOTOLPH'S WITHOUT ALDGATE

---

by

the Revd Richard Rawlinson.

A SHORT HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF Dr BRAY'S LIFE & DESIGNS.[1]

[In the handwriting of Dr. Rawlinson's amanuensis, Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library.]

In the following Account of Dr Bray the reader is presented with a Short Draught of the principal Designs, whose Promotion he labour'd in passing thro' the Several Stages of Life. No parts of his private Character are here intended to be drawn, but what is propos'd is to Shew him in very different Points of Light by representing the nature & progress of his more publick undertakings for advancing the present & future Welfare of Mankind. If I have not observed a methodical Transition from one Subject to another, or related every thing according to the exact order of History. Yet I have endeavoured to do it with all imaginable Plainness and Fidelity. These I was Sensible cou'd be the greatest Ornaments, no rhetorical Embellishmts being of advantage to set off the History of a Life so usefully spent.

Thomas Bray was born at Marteur in the County of Salop in the year of our Lord 1656. His Parents were persons of good reputation Inhabitants of that place. Discovering an early Inclination & Capacity for Learning, they Sent him to the School at Oswestry in the Same County where many Gentlemen's Sons had their education, & were prepared for ye University. The progress he made by his great application in the several parts of School Learning qualify'd him

as Soon as cou'd be expected for this remove. And as his Conduct and Parts in ye first Essays of them appear'd to be so promising, his Parents determined to give him an opportunity of making further Improvements at the University. Accordingly he was enter'd of Hart Hall in Oxford.* Here he Soon became a considerable Proficient in Theological Studies, as well as the other Sciences proper to that profession to which it was now intended to devote him, & of wch he prov'd So bright & conspicuous an ornament. But labouring under ye Common Disadvantages of a narrow fortune, & his circumstances not permitting a longer Residence at Oxford, he left the University, according to the best Information I can discover Soon after he had commenc'd Batchelor of Arts. However about this Time, he entred into Holy Orders, & the first Parish wherein Providence allotted him to perform the duties of his Ministry was one near Bridgnorth in Shropshire, his native Country. After a Short continuance & successful Ministry here in ye Station of a Curate; he remov'd into Warwickshire where he liv'd as Chaplain in Sr Thomas Price his family of Parkhall & had the Donative of Lay Marson given him by Sr Thomas. This prov'd in ye event a very advantageous Exchange of Scituation for residing now in the neighbourhood of Coleshill, his exemplary behaviour, & distinguish'd diligence in his Function introduc'd him into ye acquaintance of Mr Kettlewell,[2] Sr Charles Holt, & the Right Honb^le the Lord Simon Digby.[3] One Incident which contributed to establish his Caracter at this Juncture was preaching the assize Sermon at Warwick, on which occasion Mr Bray tho' but young, acquitted himself to the Satisfaction of the whole Audience. The Lord Simon Digby who made himself a part of this

* Matriculat Omn Anim^m Coll. 1674/5 12 Mar. Th^os Bray paup. fil.

Audience condescended afterwards to honour him with many proofs of his Friendship and Esteem. Thus the first appearance of these valuable endowments he was owner of created expectations in Such as were observers of them that he might one day prove a Signal Instrument of advancing the Interests of Religion and ye Good of Mankind. This noble Lord retain'd Such a Cordial affection for him, tho' upon no other Inducement than what was oweing to personal merit, that he recommended him to his Brother the present Lord Digby. By the present Lord he was first presented to the Vicarage of Over Whitacre in that County, since augmented by his Lordships Generosity of endowing it with the great Tythes. Upon the Vacancy of the Rectory of Sheldon by Mr. Digby Bull's refusing the oaths at ye Revolution, he was in ye year 1690 presented by his Lordship to it. Which Rectory he held till his Resignation of it about a Quarter of a year before his Death. And the principal motives to this Resignation arose from a Sense of his own advanc'd age, and the Satisfaction he had in foreseeing that himself should still Survive in ye zeal & abilities of a deserving successor.* He always esteem'd it one of the greatest Honours & Happinesses of his Life that he receiv'd a preferment from Such a Patron as my Lord Digby who was never determin'd by any other consideration in ye disposing of Presentations, than of Choosing the most useful persons to Serve in the Church, & Such as he was perswaded would make it the ultimate end of their views, to discharge the Duties of their Ministry. As this observation is not a little to his own Credit as well as the Honour of his Patron; as it does but Justice to an Example So worthy of Imitation in ye present age wherein most Patrons are govern'd by Party Zeal, Self interested Views & ye powerful

* The Rev^d^ Mr Carpenter.

Solicitations of Friends or Relations. I could not here easily decline the occasion of introducing it.

He always Spoke of his noble Patron Lord Digby, in Terms y^t sufficiently discover'd not only a grateful Sense of his own obligations, but a just veneration for all those amiable Qualities which Signalize his Lordships Character with a peculiar distinction & entitle him to an Universal esteem. In this Parish of Sheldon he composed his Catechetical Lectures whose excellence created Such a general circulation that 3,000 did not prove too great a number for one impression. These were then esteem'd by many of the first Distinction in the Church the most accurate Performance extant on that Subject. They were dedicated to Bp. Lloyd [4] & published at the perswasion of that most learned Prelate, in whose favour & Esteem he had a more than ordinary Interest. The Publication of these Lectures [5] which were the first publick productions of his Piety & Learning, drew him out of a rural privacy to London, & enter'd him on a wider & more memorable Scene of Action. There was Soon a demand for a Second impression, & by both impressions at a very reasonable price he clear'd upwards of Seven hundred pounds. And he had no Ground to doubt a much greater advantage from each of the Succeeding Parts, so fast did the Subscriptions come in for the Second Volume, which was then in the Press, but was put a Stop to by another undertaking.

In the year 1691 : & 1692. the then Governor and Assembly of Maryland [6] divided that Province into Parishes, & establish'd a legal maintenance for Ministers in each Parish. In the month of October 1695 they did take under their Consideration the necessity of having Some one to preside over the Clergy therein, & in order to Support Such Superintendant Commissary or Suffragan, they unanimously agreed in a

Petitionary Act[7] to their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary to annex forever the Judicial Office of Commissary, before in the disposal of the Governor, to that which is purely Ecclesiastical; & at the appointment of the late Bishop of London. And they wrote to his Lordship * to Send them over Some experienced unexceptionable Clergyman for ye Office intended. The Reputation Mr. Bray had acquir'd by the publication of his Lectures & the other Qualities, that adorn his Function, hinder'd the Bishop from being one moment at a Loss whom to chuse as the fittest Person to model that infant Church, & establish it on a Solid Foundation. In April 1696 he propos'd to Mr. Bray to go on the Terms of having the Judicial Office of Commissary, valu'd as represented to him at 400 £ per Annum conferr'd upon him for his Support in that Service. Mr. Bray disregarding his own Interest and that great Profit wch wou'd have arisen from finishing his course of Lectures on the Plan he had form'd, being a Work that met with general approbation & Encouragement Soon determin'd in his own mind that there might be a greater Field of doing good in the Plantations, than by his Labours here, Being always willing to be dispos'd of So in any Station as Shou'd appear most conducive to the Service of Gods Church, he demurr'd upon the proposal made him no longer, than to enquire into the State of that Country, & inform himself what was most wanting to excite Good Ministers to embark in that design. as well as to enable them most effectually to promote. With this View he laid before the Bishops the following Considerations. 1. That none but the poorer among the Clergy here cou'd be perswaded to leave their Friends & native country & go So far. 2. That Such cou'd not be able

* Bishop Compton.

to buy Books for themselves. 3. That without a Competent Provision of Books they cou'd not be useful to the design of their mission, & 4. That a Library wou'd be the best encouragement to Studious and Sober Men to go into the Service: And that as the great Inducement to himself to go wou'd be to do the greatest Good he cou'd be capable of doing, he did therefore propose to their Lordships, that if they thought fit to encourage & assist him in providing Parochial Libraries for the Ministers who shou'd be Sent, he would then accept of the Commissary's Office in Maryland.

This Proposal for Parochial Libraries being well approv'd of by the Bishops & due Encouragement being promis'd in the Prosecution of the Design, both by their Lordships & others, he Set himself with all possible application wholly to provide Missionaries, & to furnish them out with Libraries, with an Intent So Soon as he shou'd have Sent both, to follow himself.

But upon his accepting of that Employment of Commissary of Maryland, it fell to his Share to Sollicite at home whatever other matters related to that Church, more particularly to the *Settlement & Endowment* of the Same. And it So happening that the Law for Establishment thereof having been Sent home for the Royal Assent it was rejected on the account of a Clause in it, whereby it was enacted, That the great Charter of England Should be Kept & observed in all Points within ye said Province, being a clause of another nature than what was Set forth in the Title of the Said Law. And the Bp of London having obtain'd at Council that Instructions shou'd be given to have another Bill found & past into an Act, with Promise that it shou'd be confirm'd if form'd, & past according to Such instructions with the advice of his Lordship & others well Skilled in Plantation affairs, he got

the Bill drawn up according to Such Instructions, & transmitted it to Maryland to be reenacted in ye Succeeding Assembly.[8]

In the meantime that is, till the Return of a new Act from Maryland to be confirm'd by the Sovereign, he was wholly & fully employ'd under the Bp of London in enquiring out & providing Missionaries to be sent, as into that Province, upon presumption that the establishment of the Church might be at last obtain'd. So into the other Colonies on the Continent of America. And into most of the Islands; Several of which had never before enjoy'd any Standing Ministry. But above all it was his care to furnish every one whom he had an hand in sending with good Libraries of necessary and useful Books to render them Capable of answering the Ends of their Mission & in instructing the People in all things necessary to Salvation. And this gave truly Employment enough; tho' on acco^t of the more than ordinary both present & future Service Such a Magazine of Divine Knowledge may be of, he cou'd never be brought to regret the undertaking, however chargeable as well as Laborious it prov'd. One half of either Cost or pains it engag'd him in, must have discourag'd any one less Sensible to the Impressions of a religious Zeal from prosecuting it. His only Comfort was, that the Libraries he had begun & advanc'd more or less in all the Provinces on the Continent, & in most of the Islands of America; as also in the Factories of Africa; did not only Serve the then Ministers, with whom they were first sent, but by the care of Some of the Governments, & by Acts of Assembly Seconding the Rules he had prescrib'd for their Use & Preservation, they might be of advantage to Succeeding Generations.

Besides the Missionaries Sent to Maryland at this time with Libraries; by good Providence he procur'd & presented to the Bishop of London two as good Men, & as happy in their Conduct, as cou'd have been found, one Mr Clayton [9] Sent to Philadelphia in Pensylvania, the other Mr Marshall [10] Sent to Charles Town in Carolina. Neither of these Revd Persons found at their Entrance above 50 Persons of our Communion to make up their Congregation. And yet both approv'd themselves so well to the Inhabitants in each, that in two years time, which it pleas'd God to Spare their Lives to the People, the Congregation at Philadelphia the Metropolis of the Quakers, was encreased to 700, and an handsome Church was built. And at Carolina to near as many. & not only a Church was erected, but in mere respect to Mr Marshall a new Brick House was also rais'd from the Ground: A fine Plantation with a perpetual Stock of two Negro Servants & two Cows, together with 150 £ a year were Settled on him & his Successors for ever. It pleased God that both these Persons dy'd in about two years after their Arrival, & both dy'd of contagious distempers, which they had taken in the execution of their Duty, & visiting their Sick, leaving most amiable Characters behind them. The Libraries he Sent with these Gentlemen continue to their Successors, & he hath at Several times Since procur'd & made Several additions to them, as to most others he Sent both into America & Africa. The Sense of the Clergy & Inhabitants with respect to the Same was testify'd by the Solemn Letters of Thanks return'd to him, as from the Assemblies of Maryland & South Carolina; So from the Vestries of Boston & Brantree in New England, from Newfoundland, Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia, North Carolina, Bermudas, & by the acknowledgments of the Royal

African Company on account of those procur'd for the Factories of Africa.

About the Same time it was that ye Secretary of Maryland Sr Thomas Lawrence [11] himself with Dr. Bray, did in behalf of that Province wait upon the Princess of Denmark her late Majesty, humbly to request ye gracious acceptance of the Governors & Country's dutiful in having denominated the Metropolis of their Province & then but lately built, from her Royal Highnesses Names; Annopolis. And soon after he being favour'd with a Noble Benefaction from the Same Royal hand towards his Libraries in America he dedicated the premier Library in those parts, fix'd at Annapolis, & wch has Books of the Choicest kind belonging to it, to the value of near 400 £, to her glorious memory, by the Title of the Annopolitan Library; [12] which words are inscrib'd upon the several Books, as well in Gratitude to her late Majesty, as for their better preservation from Loss or Embezlement.

Soon after that upon the repeated Instances of the Governor & Some of the Country he was at the Charge of taking the Degree of D.D.* which Degree tho' it might be thought to be Some use with respect to his having better regard to the Church, as well as himself in Maryland, did however then but ill comport with his Circumstances & Station.

Immediately following the better to promote both this main design of Libraries, & to give the Missionaries Direction in ye use of them in ye Prosecution of their Theological Studies, he publish'd two Books, one intitl'd Bibliotheca Parochialis; [13] or a Scheme of Such Theological Head, both general & particular as are more peculiarly requisite to be well Studied by every Pastor of a Parish; together with a Catalogue of Books, wch may be read on each of these points.

* He took his Doctors Degree at Magdalen College in Oxford.

Apostolick Charity [14] its nature & excellency considered a discourse upon Dan. 12. 3. Preach'd at S.t Paul's, at the Ordination of Some Protestant Missionaries to be Sent into y.e Plantations. To which is prefixt.

A General view of the English Colonies in America, in order to Show what Provision is Wanting for the Propagation of Christianity in those parts.

Together with proposals for the promoting the Same & to induce Such of the Clergy of this Kingdom as are Persons of Sobriety & abilities to accept of a Mission.

In y.e year, 1696 the Law for establishing & endowing the Church was reenacted in Maryland & came over a Second Time to y.e Lords of the Council of Trade; together with a most humble Address to be presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Said Law, requesting the Royal Confirmation of the Same. But it being found that this Second Law also, contrary to the Instructions which were sent in, did contain in it a clause of a different Nature by declaring all the Laws of England to be in Force in Maryland, it was thought advisable not to Sollicite the Royal Assent to it, as being Sure it would be rejected for the Same reason as the former & then the Churches maintenance would wholly drop. And in the mean time it being promis'd at Court that the then Law such as it was, Should remain unrepeal'd, till another Should be Sent home agreeable to the Royal Instructions, the D.r did write to the Province to have it revis'd and reenacted according to the former Instructions Signifying to them that otherwise it would never pass.

He received no advantage from his Commissary's place, in Maryland all this Time, neither was any allowance made him at home or Preferment given him to Support him in his charge of living altogether in Town to Solicite the Establish-

ment & Endowment of the Church of Maryland, & to provide Missionaries for that & all the Colonies on ye Continent, wch excepting Virginia lay upon him. All the Benefactions that receiv'd being laid out to raise them Libraries wch also he did faster than money came in to answer that charge.[15]

During the same interval viz in ye year 1697 a Bill being brought into the House of Commons to alienate Lands given to Superstitious uses & to vest them in Greenwich Hospital, he preferr'd a Petition to the House that Some Share thereof might be appropriated for the Propagation of true Religion in our Foreign Plantations, & that the Same Should be vested in a Body Politick to be created for that Purpose, wch Petition was receiv'd very well in the house, & a fourth part of all, that Should be discover'd, after one Moiety to the discovered, was readily and unanimously allotted by ye Committee for that use. It being thought by far more reasonable to appropriate some part at least wise, of what was given to Superstitious uses, to uses truly pious, than altogether to other, tho' Charitable Purposes. But the Bill was never suffer'd to be reported.

In the year 1698 failing of a publick and Settled Provision by Law for carrying on the Service of the Church in Maryland [16] & the other Plantations, he address'd his Majesty for a grant of Some arrears of Taxes due to the Crown; and sometime after was oblig'd to be at the Charge & Trouble of going over to the King in Holland to have Grant compleated. These arrears of Taxes were represented as very feasible to be recover'd, & without any grievance to the Subject & also as very valuable. But they prov'd as troublesome to be recover'd, So of Scarce any Value.

All designs failing of getting a publick Fund for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, he thereupon

form'd a Design, whereof he then drew the Plan of having a Protestant Congregation pro propaganda Fide by Charter from the King. But things did not seem So ripe as to encourage him to proceed at that time in the Attempt: And So he laid it aside till a more favourable Juncture should occur.

However to prepare the way for Such Charter Society, he soon after endeavour'd to form a Voluntary Society both to carry on the Service already begun for the Plantations & to propagate Christian Knowledge as well at Home as abroad; hoping withal in time to get such Society incorporated, as afterwards he did. And it was not long till he found some worthy Persons willing to unite for constituting this Voluntary Society.

These Gentlemen have Since increas'd to a considerable Body & no Small good has been done by them, as they assisted him in Sending Libraries abroad, as they have dispers'd numbers of excellent Books among our Fleets & Armies rais'd Charity Schools in & about the City & promoted the Same by their Correspondencies in several Parts of the Kingdom. I should be unjust to this excellent Society, as well as to the memory of Dr Bray its Founder, in omitting a late noble Effort of their Zeal for promoting Christian Knowledge abroad, viz. That 4500 Psalters 10000 new Testaments, with a great number of Catechisms, a short History of the Bible &c have been printed by it for the use of the Eastern Churches. Several of these have been Sent over & gratefully receiv'd: And this Kingdom hath thereby had an opportunity of restoring in Some measure the light of the Gospel both in Syria, Arabia & Egypt, and also in those Countries from whence we receiv'd it. But to proceed

[Omission in manuscript.]

of a like mixt nature having a reference to Some Service at home as well as abroad, was another design he Set on foot about this time of raising Lending Libraries in every Deanery throughout England & Wales out of which the Neighbouring Clergy might borrow the Books they want, & where they might meet to consult upon matters relating to their Function and to Learning. It may perhaps be censur'd that being engaged in a Foreign affair, He should concern himself tho' for carrying on the like at Home but his Inducement to it was twofold, as I have heard him Say, first because having never for his own part, Enjoy'd in the Church what would enable him to furnish himself with a Sufficient Store of necessary & usefull Books to fit himself for the Service, He became thereby more Sensible of the Wants of his Brethren in like circumstances, than our Dignify'd Clergy could be, and Secondly that in his Solicitations for Benefactions for Libraries in ye Plantations He often met with Answers to this Effect, That we had poor Cures and poor Parsons enough here in England, And that Charity should begin at home, Now he thought it not amiss to Strike the Nail that would drive, and to give such Answerers an Opportunity of exercising their Benificence to the Church of God in the way they were most inclin'd to, and therefore without the least Interruption of his endeavours for the Plantations, did set on Foot this design also at home. Many *Lending Libraries* have been thereupon founded in several parts of the Kingdom, and as those Libraries were intended for the Clergy to meet & confer in rather than in their own private Houses wch will cause expences, or in publick Houses wch will besides the expence give Scandal. So if the Same Topicks Shall be made the Subject matter of their Conversation therein, as has been resolv'd on in the first Library of that kind which was

founded and that by a Noble Lord * his Neighbour & Patron already mentiond, He cannot imagine

[In the handwriting of Dr. Rawlinson, Rawl. MSS., I, fol. 2, Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.]

imagine what can be better pursued in order to keep the Rural Clergy to their rule and close to their duty, and thereby to advance their character and reputation and to create a due veneration towards them. The resolutions there formd were these that they will meet in their Library monthly or oftner to consider or confer upon ways and means of augmenting the same with the best books so to consult upon the best methods of furnishing the common people with small practical and devotional piety, of principleing the children and youth with Catechetical instructions, operating Schools for the education of poor children, of getting the Law put in execution against prophaness and Immorality and by what other means they can best discharge their pastoral care and duty and promote public good, and in order to the better Knowledge of the duties of their position, and forming no other resolutions, but shall be agreeable to the constitution of our Church, that at every hearing they will read over some part, and that successively, till they shall go through the whole of their ordination vowes, of the articles, Rubricks and Canons of the Church, of the Royal Injunctions and proclamations, and acts of Parliament orderd to be read in churches, those especially against prophaness and Immorality, and lastly the Articles of Enquiry, exhibited at both Episcopal and Archidiaconal visitations, and that as well to furnish themselves with proper and suitable for their conversation these, instead of mere news, and other impertinences, as the better to know their duty, and take the best measures about it.

* Lord Digby.

Now had *dr Bray* nothing farther in view in his Essay to promote necessary and usefull knowledge at home as well as abroad then to represent the miserable want of books amongst the parochial Clergy throughout the Kingdom, the ill consequences of such want both to themselves and people, and the easiest method to supply the same by the means of lending Libraries, one at least in every deanery, which if placed in some Market Town nearest the Center the neighbouring Clergy and others, might without further trouble than sending on a market day by their own or a neighbours servant borrow at any time the book they want. This alone considered it seems to be a most laudable design, and the success it has met with, is such, that there are not many dioceses in the Kingdom where Such Libraries are not more or less advanced.

But in truth he had something farther in view, that his design of having public Libraries for the Parochial Clergy in every deanery to meet and confer together in, as well as to borrow Books out of, and it was by such their Consultations to reduce into practice, and to restore more and more by degrees the antient age of Rural deans, and the Jurisdictions pertaining to their respective deaneries, whereby as an excellent discipline was formerly maintaind in this our Church of England, so it might be again in a good measure revived on Such a manner as to give not altogether the occasion we now have every Ashwednesday to lament its loss or decay amongst us and indeed whoever shall consider the antient Constitution of our Rural deaneries as represented in an extract he has made out of some of our Antiquaries, and how admirably they were fitted for good discipline, and shall compare that with what is already found practicable in the Clergys meeting at their Libraries spoke of above,

He will be apt to conclude, that as the antient discipline of our Church this the Church of England I wish and the desire of all good people, so it is not likely to be restored by any other means than having Libraries in our several Rural deaneries for the Clergy to meet in where they may act to such purposes and according to such powers as shall be allowed them.

I might here also speak of the beginnings he made towards *Parochial Catechetical Libraries* in the Isle of *Man*, as well as in the mean cures both in *England* and *Wales*. But this subject shall be resumed in its proper place.

About this time it was that some of his friends, observing that no provision was made to support him in the expensive service he had undertaken for the plantations, He was much persuaded to lay that design aside, and had with all two good preferments offerd him at home, of as good or better value than what was proposed for him in Maryland, vizt that of Sub-almoner with the salary of 80 ll. per annum, and the living of *Aldgate* in the City. But he declin'd all offers that were inconsistent with his going to *Maryland*, as soon as it should become proper for him to take the voyage.

By the year 1699 having waited upwards of two years for the return of the Act of Religion from *Maryland* with such Amendments, as would render it without exception at the Court of *England*, and it being presumed by our Superiors, that it would be requisite the doctor should now hasten over as well to encourage the passing of that Act in their Assemblies, as to promote other matters for the service of religion there, it was signifyd to him from them, that they would have him take the opportunity of the first Ship, and indeed the *doctor* having by this year, tryd all the ways he could think of, and done all that he was able to do here to

serve those parts, and according to proposal having provided *Maryland* as also many other colonies with a competent number of ministers and furnish'd them with good libraries to be fixt in the places where they were sent, to remain there forever He was of himself eager to follow, and so he did accordingly even in the winter, tho' he had no allowance made him towards the charge of the Voyage, and the service he was to do, But was forc'd to dispose of his own small effects and raise money on credit to support him in it.

With this poor encouragement and thus upon his own provision december 16 1699 he took his Voyage and arrived in Maryland after an extream tedious and dangerous passage, the 12″ March following, where I should proceed to declare what did so immediately follow upon his arrival, but that there remains something not unworthy, it may be, to be mentiond as done on this side the water, before he left the English Shore with relation to the Missionaries and Libraries.

It was long before that he observd the Missionaries to be many times detain'd several weeks and sometimes months in our Seaports before they could go off more especially in time of War, when not only the want of wind, but of convoys occasioned such stay, and he had often reflected upon it, as of consequence to them to have a library in each of the Seaports, whence they do usually sett off, to study in during their stay on shore, and this not only that they might lose no time towards their better improvement, but to prevent also the expenses and Scandalls, to which they would be too much exposed, by saunting away whole hours together in Coffee Houses, or may be less sober places. But could they have a library in each of those ports, to sett down in all the time they could spare from their meals, and where they might recreate themselves after hard study with the con-

versation of their Brethren, whether Fellow Missionaries or the Sea chaplains, or other ingenious passengers in Port, and were the use of those Libraries strictly enjoynd them at their departure, He then presum'd, I have heard him say, and was confirm'd in his opinion since, that scarce anything would more contribute to the advantage and reputation of our Missions and Missionaries the ports being generally very loose places, and dangerous for young men to abide in long, and where without employment and a suitable retirement they will be much exposed to such temptations as will stain their character, upon which consideration and presuming withall, that if the foundation of such Seaport libraries were once laid but by a few books, it would be no great difficulty to obtain considerable accessions from the benefactions of the Sea Officers who are usually generous enough, as well as from other gentlemen, if the Ministers in such places would be zealous and active in improving the designs. He formed proper proposals for the raising such Libraries, obtain'd some benefactions towards laying the foundation of the same, and took along him with him some books to deposit for that purpose in each port, as should happen in his way, or wherein providence should cast him. And it having happened that he himself passd through and was detain'd in three several stations of that kind, so as to experience himself the use of what he had before projected. He did accordingly putt his design on foot, in each of them namely at Gravesend, deal, and at plymouth. But from the latter of these I have something to remark.

He sett sail from the downes [16a] Decr 20 and being drove into Plymouth Sound on Xmas Eve remain'd in harbour almost all the Holydays, where his time was, I presume not unusefully spent, if it were but with respect to the recovery

of a tolerable good library there cut of dust and rubbish and giving a benefaction of books to it, and leaving a proposal for taking in subscriptions to make it a seaport Library for the use of Missionaries and Sea chaplains as well as others.

He arriv'd in Maryland after an extreme and dangerous passage the 12[h] of March following, where not being so much touch'd with his own, as the Churches unsettlement— He applyed himself immediately and wholly to repair the breach made in the settlement of the Parochial clergy. In order to which he consulted in the first place the Governor whom he found ready to concur in all proper methods for the reestablishment of their maintenance. [by] The next Assembly which was to be in May following. next he sent to all the Clergy on the Western Shore who only could come together in that season to be acquainted from them with the dispositions of the people and their Sentiments on this occasion, and to advise with them what was proper to be done in order to dispose the members of Assembly to reenact their Law next meeting.[17] And soon after he dismist the Clergy he made his Parochial Visitation as far as it was possible for him at that season, in which as he found the respects of the best persons in the Country, to be very singular towards him, so he was not wanting to make his advantages thereof for the good of that poor Church And if his conduct in the whole was in any wise happy, to God alone he ascribed all the Glory.

During the Sessions of Assembly,[18] and whilst the reestablishment of the Church was depending He preach'd the most proper and Seasonable sermons he could, and all of them with a tendency to incline the Country to the establishment of the Church and Clergy, and all of them had that good reception that he received repeated thanks of the Assembly for the

same by messages from the House, together with their thanks for his services done to that Church and Province.

Through the goodness of God he was upon those good terms with the Assembly that they ordered the Attorney General to advise with him in the drawing up the Bill, and that he himself might the better advise in that case, He sent for the most experienced of the Clergy within call to suggest to him, what upon their own and their brethrens experience they found would be of advantage to them and the Church, to be inserted in, or left out of it. And it has pleased God that the Constitutions of that Church as it is hitherto provided for by Law, has much the advantage of any in our parts of *America*.[19]

It may not be improper to observe in this place, that as well during the generall Court or Assizes which preceded the Assembly and lasted thirteen days, as during the sessions of Assembly itself He was under a necessity of much civil but chargeable Entertainment of the Gentlemen of that Province, who did universally visit him, and this he thought requisite as circumstances then were, not only because he was lately come in amongst them, but chiefly in order to strengthen his interest with them towards facilitating the establishment of the Clergys maintenance. nor may it be construed amiss to observe that from the same principle of zeal for that Churches service, tho to his own personal prejudice, it was that the then * * * * * * Speaker of the Lower House of Assembly,[20] a person of great abilities, and to whom that Church owes very much, express'd himself often as very sensible of his services to that Country, so apprehensive that he might meet with a disappointment. and tho this Gentleman seemed to come on purpose to his house one evening to offer his service to have that office

settled on him by Act of Assembly, yet his great concern and case being to gett that Church and the maintenance of the Clergy established in that Assembly, and being unwilling to clog so material an affair with what concerned his own self, He did postpone the remedying of his own personal grievance and disappointment therein.

The Bill being prepared, as it passed with a Nemine Contradicente, so it was on all hands ownd and declard that it was very providential he came into the Country at that Juncture. It was look'd upon as a hard attempt to have that Law reenacted after two repulses at home, it being contrary to the instructions given with all Governors, that when a Law has been reversed at home, a bill of the same nature should be again passd in any of their Assemblies, and considering also the interest of the people to be eas'd of the 40 per pole, and the bad humour the Country were brought into by the insinuations of the Quakers and Papists and the discouragements that those who were well affected to our Church were putt under, to have this laudable endeavours for its establishment and support so often repulsed. All these things considered it was universally and often ownd by those too, who could best judge of matters, that had not he come in when he did, the establishment would scarcely have been so much as attempted, much less have succeeded. It was undoubtedly designed by the Quaker to putt the greatest slur upon our new erected Church, and totally to discourage any farther strugglings to preserve it from falling, that they contrivd, not only to have the law for its establishment annulld just before his going for *Maryland* but that they sent a Quaker with the order of Council in the very same Ship with him. But it pleased God to order it, that this should contribute very much to the establishment. For

as the insolence of the Quakers in that contrivance raisd a great indignation in the friends to that settlement—to his being prest with them was thought not a little to animate them to attempt anew the restoring thereof Soon after the Assembly was up, he cited the whole Clergy of the Province to a general Visitation at Annapolis to be held May 22d 1704 [21] at which Visitation for what was done:

1 In order to prevent scandals in the ministers who should come in

2 To keep them to their duty of Catechising, Preaching and Visiting, and

3 To propagate the true religion in the neighboring Provinces (the first measures for supporting Missions, where no established Maintenance was provided, being laid at that Visitation) see the printed Acts thereof. at the Close of the Visitation as will appear by the said acts, the Clergy taking into consideration, that the violent opposition of the Quakers against the establishment of that Church, would in all probability continue, so as to get the Law for its establishment lately reenacted annulld again at home They fell into debates, whether it would not be of Consequence to the preservation and final settlement of that Church that he should be requested to go home with the Law, and to solicit the Royal Assent.

It had been before voted at the passing of the Bill in the House of Burgesses, that he should be desired to request his Grace of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London* to favour that good Law by obtaining his Majestie's Royal Assent to the same with all convenient speed, and the Members who gave them the account of passing that vote, told him, withall, that it was the general opinion in the House, that he could

be most serviceable therein by waiting personally on their Lordships, rather than by letters, in which he could not crowd all that might be necessary to be represented concerning the then State of the Church, and the necessity at that time of their utmost patronage and it was in debate whether he could not be desired by the Assembly so to do. But that, it was thought, would be too unreasonable a request, they being sensible of the great charges and fatigues he had already been at in the service of that Province as they had a few days before acknowledged by a message from their house with their thanks for the same.

These were the sentiments of the Members of the Assembly as to the necessity of his coming home to solicit the establishment of that Church, and the Clergy meeting at their visitation some weeks after, as they had time to know more fully the sence of that province upon it, so they represented it to him as the earnest desire of other the more sensible persons throughout the same, as well as of the Assemblymen, that he should go over with the Law for *England* being aware that the Quakers would this last time openly and the Papists covertly make their utmost efforts against the establishment of y^{t} Church by false representations at home of the number and riches of their party and by intimating that to impose upon them an established maintenance for the Clergy would be prejudicial to the interest of the Province, by obliging so many wealthy traders to remove from thence, the falsity of which or any other suggestions they thought him best able to make appear by reason of the Information he had gained upon his *Parochialia Inquirenda.*

And there were many other advantages to the Church in these parts which they proposed by his coming home at that time which were urgd as reasons for it as may be seen in the

Acts in that Visitation, upon the consideration of all which, tho' there was no provision could be made there to support him in that charge and the Commissaries office would also yeild him no profit, it not being tenable by the Law of the Country, but by one residing in it, yet upon the consideration of much public Good, he determined himself, and took his voyage soon after the Visitation.[22]

He was no sooner arrived in *England*, but he found their Apprehensions in *Maryland* not ill grounded, for the Quakers did forthwith so exceedingly bestir themselves, that it was very amazing to see what prejudices they had quickly raisd in those who had then the cognizance of plantation affairs, and what false and formidable computations they gave in of the Clergys charge to the Country, which false suggestions when he saw that they did stick even with some that seem'd well affected to that Church, He refuted by a printed Memorial[23] representing truly the Church of *Maryland* with relation to its establishment by Law, by which memorial he gave full satisfaction to those to whom it was communicated. And indeed considering the opposition which was given to the Law, when it came home, as it had been before thought in Maryland not unseasonable his coming into that Country to get it reenacted there, so it appeard that as little unseasonable was his coming home with it. For no sooner was the occasion of his so speedy return understood (and it did quickly spread abroad of itself even without the printed account he gave of it) but it created such censures against those who appeard no well wishers to that settlement as perhaps were none of the least occasions, that it fared not again as formerly it had done.

But tho' the Law with much Solicitation and struggling was preserved from being totally disannulld yet many of the

exceptions, which the Quakers made against it, sticking with the Lords of Trade, all that could be obtaind was that he might with advice of Council draw up another Bill according to the Instructions of that board, and sending that Bill to *Maryland* to be past into a law, had the promise that his Majesty upon its return would confirm it here. In the drawing up of which Bill He was at great charge with Council, and after the Bill had been thrice amended at the plantation board, it was at last approvd.[23a] Happy was the province of *Maryland* in having its concerns managed at this critical juncture by such an able and indefatigable Agent. The Quakers opposition to that establishment which was now depending, was carried on by united Councils and Contributions, But the doctor refuted their specious objections by unanswerable reasons, and placed the matter in such a light of advantage, that his Majesty decided without any appearance of hesitation in the Churches favour, and gave his Royal assent in these remarkable words.[24]

Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? Let the established church have an established maintenance.

This chargeable and laborious undertaking having swallowd up the doctors own small fortune a noble Lord (*Ld Weymouth*)[24a] presented him, after his return with a bill of three hundred pounds a sensible proof of that zeal with which he was animated for the honour of religion, and the support of those who sacrificed the most valuable interests of this life in its service. But so much did the doctor avoid all appearance of Selfinterest that a large proportion of this, as I have been informed, was devoted to the advancement of his publick designs. Tho he was vested with the character of Commissary, yet no share of the revenue proposed was annexd to it—and this disappointment, however injurious in

the highest degree conceivable, was not made by him either matter of complaint there or of remembrance at home.

The generosity which induc'd him to throw in two sums of fifty pounds each, that were there presented to himself, towards defraying the charge of their Libraries and Law, his indefatigable endeavours to promote the interest of *Maryland*, the success which attended all his measures for compleating and perfecting the polity and establishment of that church would best appear from the several orders of Council, from his own letters to the Governor, Speaker, and Atterney general of *Maryland*, should I not swell this account to too great a bulk by a transcript of them. Indeed the relation he contracted at this Juncture to *Maryland* was what he ever after esteemed as sacred and indisolluble, And he countenanced all advances that were made to cultivate Religion and Morality in that province.

After his return in the years 1700 and 1701 he published his circular Letters to the Clergy of *Maryland*, a memorial representing the present state of religion on the Continent of *North America* and the Acts of his visitation held at Annapolis for which he had the thanks of the Society above mentioned. Not only the Bishop of *London* was entirely satisfied with all these Transactions, but the Archbishop of Canterbury "yt he was well satisfied with the reasons of *dr. Brays* return from the West Indies, and also added that his mission thither would be of the greatest consequence imaginable to the establishment of Religion in those parts."

The doctor, as was before occasionally observed, form'd a plan of a Protestant Congregation or Society for the propogation of Christian Knowledge, which he laid before the Bishop of *London* and some others in the year 1697. On the unsuccessfullness of the Bill for vesting of lands given

to superstitious uses in Greenwich Hospital, and to provide for Protestant Missions. On this plan a Society was constituted, and tho' the design of having them incorporated by Charter could not be brought to bear, yet they still subsisted and acted as a Voluntary Society. But their body and benefactions increasing, a different constitution and more extensive powers appeard to be necessary for the successful progress of so great an undertaking. application was therefore made by dr. Bray to his late Majesty K. William for his Royal Charter. I find on consulting the minutes of that Society before and at the time of their Incorporation that the drs petition to (for so it was stiled) with other papers relating to the Corporation to be erected for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, was read May 5. 1701—and his Majestys Letters patents under the great Seal of England for erecting a Corporation by the name of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was laid before the Society by dr. Bray and read the 9th of June following. The gentlemen who composed that venerable body were so sensible how much was owing to the zeal and sollicitation of dr. Bray resolved that "thanks should be returned to him for his great care and pains in procuring the grant of the said letters Patents." If this incorporated Society is now enabled by a revenue arising from occasional benefactions, and settled endowments to support a number of Missionaries, Schoolmasters, and catechists for the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts, we must remember with gratitude and honour the zealous labours of *dr. Bray*, to which it cheifly owes its establishment. the author of a letter from a residing member of the Society (at London) for promoting Christian Knowledge to a corresponding member in the Country did him a memorable Act of Justice. In his

account of the origin of the Incorporated Society, he observes that "it took its rise from the indefatigable endeavours of a Reverend Clergyman now living (*dr. Bray*) to promote Christian Knowledge in our foreign plantations"—see the letter printed 1723.

In the year 1703 he published an Essay to [25] shew the incompetent provision there is in many parishes through a great part of the Kingdom to enable the parochial Clergy to instruct the people. So general a disposition was excited to encourage this excellent work, that as his other design of forming a Society for propagating the Gospel was established by Royal Charter, so that of founding Libraries was brought to maturity by gradual advances under the patronage of the Legislature.

For an act of Parliament passed in the 7th year of Queen *Anne* entituled—an act, for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in that part of Great *Britain* called *England* Sr Peter King [25a] (now Lord Chancellor) was the gentleman who brought the Bill into the House, one then equally distinguished by his Knowledge of Christianity, and his zeal for it. The supplying the poorer vicarages and cures throughout the Kingdom with Libraries is an act of piety which will add a lustre to our Ecclesiastical Constitution, that, in the judgment of all good and religious persons, it has been thought very much to want. Nothing is so much to be wish'd for as a more ample provision for the advancement of learning and useful Knowledge among the Clergy, that every pastor might be able to instruct the people committed to his charge in all saving truths, and appeal to their Consciences in the language of St. Paul—"I take you to record this day that I am free from the blood of all men, for I have

not shunned to declare unto you all the counsell of God Acts 20. v. 26–27.

Considerable advances have been made in this glorious work, and they gave grounds to hope that any future reproach upon our nation upon this account, will by its gradual progress be fully obviated.

In the year 1712.[26] the doctor printed his *Martyrology*, or *Papal Usurpation* in one folio that nothing might be wanting which could enrich and adorn the work, he establishd a correspondence with learned Foreigners of the first distinction, and called in the assistance of the most eminent hands. This consists of some choice and learned treatises of celebrated authors, which were grown very scarce, ranged and digested into as regular an History as the nature of the subject would admit. He propos'd to compile a second volume, and had at no small expence and pains furnished himself with materials for it. But was afterwards obliged to lay the prosecution of this design aside and bequeathed by his will this valuable collection of Martyrological Memoirs both printed and manuscript to *Zion* College.[26a] He was indeed so great a Master of the Papal History, that few authors could be presum'd able with equal accuracy and learning to trace the origin and growth of those exorbitant powers which are claimed by the See of *Rome*.

He was happily form'd by nature for both the active and the retird and sedentary life Charity to the Souls of other men was wrought up to the highest pitch in his own. Every reflection on the dark and forlorn condition of the *Indians* and *Negroes*, excited in his bosom the most generous emotions of piety and concern. He conceiv'd nothing so desirable as to be the instrument of recovering those lost sheep, and bringing them into the fold of their Heavenly pastor. His

voyage to *Holland* to solicit *K. William's* protection and encouragement to his good designs, and the proofs he gave of a publick Spirit and disinterested Zeal in such a seres of generous adventures for the good of mankind endeard him to the esteem of *Mr. dallone* of the *Hague.* This Honourable Gentleman was not so justly celebrated for his great penetration and address in managing State Affairs, as for the pious disposition of mind with which he was confessedly endowed. A just sense of the inestimable benefits reach'd out to mankind by the Gospel inspird him with a zeal to make those, who lay without the Christian pale, partakers of them—an Epistolary Correspondence commenced very early between him and the *doctor* on this subject, The result of which was, that he gave in his lifetime a sum to be applyed to the conversion of the *Negroes,* desiring withall the *doctor* to direct the management and disposition of it. But that a standing provision might be made for this purpose Mr. *Dallone* bequeathed by his last will a certain proportion of his English Estate to *dr. Bray* and his Associates towards erecting a capital fund or stock for converting the Negroes in the *British* Plantations. The doctor was acquainted by the Rt. Honble the Lord Viscount *Palmerston* [26b] soon after Mr. *Dallones* death, with his having left this noble bequest which amounted to the sum of nine hundred pounds, and it happening that soon after, viz. in Christmass 1725 he had so dangerous a sickness, that his recovery was despaired of, the Lord *Palmerston* was pleased to intimate that it would be requisite he should nominate and appoint by deed such as he would desire to have Associates with him in the disposition of the legacy. This he accordingly did, chusing those Gentlemen of whose affection to this and his other pious designs he had ample experience, they were the Rt. Honble the Lord Vis-

count *Percival*,[26c] *Robert Hales* esqr, the Revd. Mr. *Stephen Hales* [26d] and *William Belitha* [26e] esq.

The Doctor finding by the words of Mr. *Dallones* will, as well as by his former letters, that he depended much upon him to form and modell the design, that he might not be wanting to give the assistance he could to a work so truly Christian, he immediately applyd himself to form a scheme for the most effectual proceeding in this affair. Tho' the Legacy could not soon be paid in, yet in assurance of its certainty, being intrusted to so Honourable a person as the Lord Viscount *Palmerston* he endeavord, as occasion offerd to set it a going. This he did by sounding the inclinations of some Missionaries sent to him by the Bishop of *London*, whether they would engage in the measures proposd for the Christian instruction of the *Negroes*, which they should find (as they would find many) in their several cures. Those whom he observ'd well disposd to it, he furnishd with Books as necessary helps to them and their successors in discharging that part of their pastoral office and as a farther encouragement he furnishd them with other smaller pieces more immediately proper to the Instruction of the *Negroes*.[27]

When the Legacy was paid the yearly issues from it being too inconsiderable to begin the work in such a manner as might assure himself and his associates the desir'd event, There was an apparent necessity either of breaking in upon the Capital, or of furnishing books upon the credit of it. The *doctor* being desirous that the capital might be handed down to his successors in the trust without any defalcation, chose to make up the deficiencies at his own expence, and charge what was expended in these provisions on the fund. he did not propose to receive any interest for his money and

at his death obliged his Executrix to submit to the disadvantage of a gradual reimbursement.

The better to prepare for the work such as came to him, being generally young divines, who had not read much, he lent them such books as he thought proper to employ their studies in whilst they should remain in *London*, and putt them upon a Catechetical Exercise on Sunday Evenings in his own parish. Indeed he conceiv'd it would be of singular use to have such Missionaries under a probation here before sent abroad, and for this end founded a probationers library, that during the time of their probation they might read over a whole course of divinity, whereby they would be rendered more apt or fit to teach, as the apostle requires, and give him specimens of their preaching abilities.

No fix'd and invariable Scheme can be here always pursued. Time and Change of Circumstances may render different measures necessary. Several of the Plantation Clergy want no other Inducements than those arising from the nature of their Holy Function to direct their endeavours to this end. They have not objected the extent of their Parochial Cures, but the scarcity and dearness of books, which are so necessary to enable them to carry on such conversions. As the fund enlarges, it may extend to pecuniary gratuities and other encouragements should they be judged expedient may be proposed. The accounts transmitted from Mr. *Colebatch* [28] in *Maryland* and Mr. *Holt* [29] in *Barbadoes* sufficiently discover the success that has attended the method hitherto observed in conducting the design but the doctor left his associates at liberty to proceed in any other of their own forming.

From the year 1726 He was employed in composing and printing his *directorium missionallium*, his *Primordia Biblio-*

thecaria, and some other tracts of a like kind. In this period he likewise wrote a short account *Mr. Rawlet's* [30] life, the pious author of the *Christian Monitor*, reprinted the *life of Mr* [31] Gilpin and *Erasmus's Ecclesiastes.* Some of these were calculated for the use of the Missions and in one he has endeavourd to shew, that civilizing the *Indians* must be the first step in any successful attempt for their Conversion. In his *Primordia Bibliothecaria* [31a] we have several schemes of Parochial Libraries, and a method laid down to proceed by a gradual progression from strength to strength from a collection not much exceeding in value one pound to a collection reaching even to an hundred pounds. His attention to other good works occasiond no discontinuance of this design, whose success was so much the object of desires. And accordingly benefactions came in so fast, that he had business enough upon his hands to form the Libraries desird, and to discharge himself of them.

As one effectual way to repair the decays of Christian piety would be to furnish the Parochial Clergy with the means of instruction, so another expedient manifestly subservient to the same end would be, he thought, to imprint on the minds of those who are admitted into the ministry, previously to such admission, a just sense of the various duties and their great importance. With this view he reprinted a treatise intitled—*Ecclesiastes* of *Erasmus*, a name of the greatest authority in the republick of letters, and to whom the re-establishment of polite Literature was principally owing. This treatise was written by *Erasmus* at the desire of a Bishop of the *Romish* Church, possessed no doubt, with awfull sentiments of this matter. We may observe, with how much energy the learned author employs all the arguments, that he could think proper to excite a conscientious

regard to the weight of the Ministerial office, and a becoming diligence in the discharge of it.

As excellent as it is, it lay before mixd and undistinguishd in his voluminous works and rarely fell into the hands of any except those few who have access to publick libraries. So that a new separate impression of it is what the doctor might justly intend as a common benefit to the bulk of his own order. Take his opinion of the book and his view in reprinting it in his own words "whenever I take into my hands this invaluable piece of *Erasmus* his *Ecclesiastes*, methinks I experience what has been often said to be found by others with respect to that of *Thomas a Kempis de Imitatione Christi*, namely, that let a man read him never so often, every time he will find something new in him, so poignant so penetrating are the periods and sentiments of the learned *Erasmus* relating to this great concern, even to the exceeding himself in every thing he wrote and it were much to be wish'd that among the many other tracts in divinity, or relating to that subject requisite to be thoroughly read in our Universities by those who are designed for the Ministry, previously to their entrance into Holy Orders: It were to be wished, I say, that their perusal of this, or some other tract upon the Pastoral care, were strictly insisted on, and nicely enquird into, before their College Testimonials should be granted them. And it is moreover humbly apprehended, that it would not be amiss, if a farther and more particular examination should be made afterwards by such as usually examine the Candidates before their admission into Holy Orders, whether they are so acquainted with this admirable piece of *Erasmus*, as to have imbibd his noble sentiments concerning the Pastoral care surely if such injunctions were generally given concerning a previous consideration of the

duties of a minister, few or none would dare precipitately and unpreparedly to thrust themselves, meerly in view of livelihood or preferment, into the offices of deacons and Presbiters, as too many alass have been found to do, without considering that *Onus Angelicis humeris formidandum* as a great man speaks this of the Pastoral Office to be, and without considering, how unequal their shoulders are to bear it.

In short I may venture to say that few of those many, who have written upon the nature and importance of the Pastoral care, ever exceeded the most learned and eloquent *Erasmus*, in his awfull way of delivering his sentiments on this weighty office. Every period of his first book of his *Ecclesiastes* being so pungent, and so admirably well levelld at the bold precipitancy and wretched views, with which many, too many, enter into Holy Orders. And I am perswaded, that being read over before hand, it would deter some at least from venturing, *illotis manibus*, upon an office they are so little qualified for, as a thing in itself horridly prophane and audacious in them. And the serious and frequent perusal of the same afterwards, even through the whole course of a ministry, would stimulate and invigorate even the best qualified and disposed amongst us, to execute the sacred Trust to the honour of our great Redeemer, and the promoting of his Kingdom by the destruction of the dominion of sin and Satan [see his primordia Bibliothecaria pag. 13, 14, 15]

The *doctor* had frequently the honour to be employed by the Bishops of *London* in providing fitt and well disposed persons for the Mission, and consequently he must have more opportunities of observing the disadvantages religion suffers for want of those lasting convictions concerning the

weight of the Pastoral Office, which an attentive perusal of *Erasmus* his *Ecclesiastes* would probably leave on the minds of all who engage in it.

The Associates design, pursuant to his intention, to present a considerable number to each of our Universities, and as the Governors and tutors in those learned Bodies, have been pleased to assure them, that they will recommend this book to their respective Youth, whose understandings are happily opened and cultivated under their directions we may reasonably hope, that on such an advantageous recommendation, it cannot fail of producing in time the good effect desird.

In the year 1727 an acquaintance made a casual visit to Whitechapell Prisons, and his representation of the miserable state of the Prisoners, had such an effect on the doctor, that he immediately applyd himself to solicit benefactions in order to relieve them. And he had soon contributions sufficient to provide a quantity of Bread, Beef, and Broth on Sundays and now and then on the intermediate week days for this and the *Borough Compter*.[31b] To temporal he always endeavourd to joyn spiritual provisions, and to enure them to the most distastefull part of their office, the intended Missionaries were here employd in reading and preaching. on this occasion the sore was first opend and that scene of inhumanity imperfectly discoverd, which afterwards some worthy Patriots of the House of Commons took so much pains to enquire into and redress. That zeal and compassion, which lead them to carry on this Inspection and regulate any gross abuses, could not but procure for them the largest measure of esteem for one distinguished by such an extensive benevolence as *dr Bray*.

The Divine Guardianship apparently accompanyed both his designs of founding Libraries and converting the Negroes,

and the former was particularly advanced under the patronage of persons in the highest Stations. But being very far advanced in years, and continually reminded of his approaching change by the imbecility and decays of old age, he was desirous of enlarging the number of his Associates and adding such to them in whose zeal and integrity he might repose an intire confidence.

The Inquiry into the State of the Gaols, was an event which at this juncture appeard to have in it something providential, as it gave occasion to an interview between the *doctor* and *Mr Oglethorpe*.[32] This worthy Gentlēman, when it was proposd, wanted no arguments to prevail on him to accept the Trust, and engaged several others, some of the first rank and distinction, to act with Him and the former Associates in it. All the undertakings indeed were of such a nature, as it well became the character of great and generous minds to support. For to these two designs of founding Libraries, and instructing the Negroes, a third was now added, which tho' at first view appears to be of a different nature, has a perfect coincidence with them. The miserable condition of multitudes for want of Employment, has of late mov'd the highest degrees of compassion in the breasts of all charitable persons. The provisions which the Legislature has made by the late Act for erecting Parochial work Houses is insufficient. No guards which nature or Religion has placed on the vertue of mankind, will be long esteemd sacred and inviolable, when they lye exposed to the temptations attending poverty and narrow circumstances. And therefore out of the same charitable regard to the bodies and Souls of Men, a design was form'd of establishing a Colony in *America* than which none can be better entitled to consideration and encouragement. The comfortable subsistence

that will be provided for the more necessitous poor, the advantages which will accrue to the publick from such a settlement and its tendency to reconcile those to the Christian profession who are now averse to it, are Subjects of too large an extent to be considerd here, neither do they properly fall within my province of an Historian. as the doctor was concern'd in getting this undertaking on foot, I can't justly be charged with a digression for taking notice of it

The part he formerly bore in establishing the Society for reformation of Manners setting up Charity Schools, erecting a Society for relief of poor proselytes deserves to be particularly recorded among the numerous beneficent acts by which his zeal was distinguish'd. Most of the Religious Societies in London owe the same gratefull acknowledgments to his memory and are in a great measure formed on the plans he projected. I should overcharge this account in entering into a detail of these Establishments, as I should offend against the rules of Historical Justice in not mentioning them.

To resume then the consideration of his principal designs. These he had now happily lodgd in the hands of able managers and therefore, when on the verge of the Grave, he could not but review his undertakings with complacency and thank the good Providence which appeard to lay such trains for the advancement of them. His conscience crownd him with a secret applause, which was an inexhaustible source of comfortable reflections. and joyful presages in his last moments.

He had not been employd in projecting methods for his own advancement to the first dignities in the Church to which he had real pretensions from the merit of such uncommon services, but governed himself by other views, and the ambition of doing Good seemd to be the passions that

had a perpetual ascendant on his Soul. His regard for publick interests, and assiduity in promoting them diverted him from the pursuit of his own. An ardent but well temperd zeal for Gods Glory, and an intense love to mankind are the exalted virtues, which [made] such a considerable figure thro' his whole life and gave rise to All his undertakings and undertakings arising from such generous principles could not but intitle him to the patronage of Heaven, the satisfactions of conscience, and thro the merits of Christ, to an ample recompence in futurity. The success of his several undertakings was in a human way of calculating events altogether unaccountable and can only be ascribed to the overruling interposition of a superior power.

His story will be an evident demonstration that where there is a persevering zeal, it seems agreeable to the settled measures of providence to bring about great things by disproportion'd Instruments. The supreme and all wise governor of the world, who guides all events by secret and undiscerned Springs will conduct our designs to the desird period. An inflamed zeal and a disposition not to be intimidated by present difficulties enter as the brightest distinctions into the *doctors* character.

He dy'd February 15th 1729. and as he did not live[33] (*a*) *to himself* so neither did *he die to himself his faith and patience* appearing to all who were observers of them at that trying juncture most exemplary and Heroical.

Indeed if a mans behaviour through the several scenes of the private, social, and religious life will bear to be renewd with such a critical nicety, he may, when calld upon by the will of providence, obey the summons with that resolution and discomposure, [sic] which such a delightfull retrospect will inspire. His diligence in doing the real business of life

whilst he enjoyd it, and Keeping his Lamp always trimmd renderd it a just and well founded hope, that the gates of Paradise and the arms of the Bridegroom would be open to receive him. The History of past ages has recorded few equals, and we do honour to posterity in supposing it may produce conspicuous examples of those graces which adorn men of his own or any different order.

The main lines of his life, however imperfectly opened will justify me in using the language of a certain Author and observing with him that "there has appeard in the world from time to time some admirable extraordinary men, whose virtue and eminent qualities have cast a prodigious light like those unusual stars in the Heavens, the causes of which we are ignorant of, and know as little what becomes of them when they disappear."

AN

ESSAY

Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge,

BOTH

DIVINE AND HUMAN,

In all the PARTS of

His MAJESTY'*s Dominions,*

Both at Home and Abroad.

By THOMAS BRAY, *D. D.*

Λίθοι δὲ καὶ ξύλα οἱ ἄφρονες·
πρὸς δὲ καὶ λίθων ἀναισθητότερος
ἄνθρωπος ἀγνοίᾳ βεβαπτισμένος. Clemens Alex. Admonit. ad Gentes.[33a]

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Holt* for *Robert Clavel*, at the *Peacock* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, MDCXCVII.

I. TO THE

READER.

KNowledge [33b] is the fairest Ornament of the Soul of Man; and whosoever is Endow'd therewith, let it be of any kind, which is not mischievous, fails not of Esteem amongst all sorts of Persons. This is certain, that Knowledge does more distinguish the Possessors of it, than Titles, Riches, or great Places: For tho' these Men may command the Cap and the Knee, and extort some outward kind of Reverence from Inferiors; yet the Man of Understanding is he, who is inwardly and truly respected, whilst the Gaudy, but Empty Beau, is no other than the Scorn and Derision of all who Converse with him. But
II. especially a Man is then esteemed for his Knowledge, if his Understanding is Eminent in things laudable, and of great Weight and Moment, for whatever is greatly useful is highly valuable.

And such is the Knowledge, which I am endeavouring to provide for, by the following Proposals.

For why? as to the Theological part; In the first place, this is a Knowledge Conversant about the greatest Objects, God, and our selves; *Secondly*, and that about the Grandest and most Concerning Truths relating to those Objects. *Thirdly*, It is a Knowledge to which the most considerable of other Sciences are some way or other appendant and subservient. *Fourthly*, It is a Knowledge founded upon more certain Principles than all other Sciences whatsoever (scarce the Mathematicks excepted) All which speak the
III. Noble Nature of Divine Knowledge. And Lastly, It is the only Knowledge which can conduct us safe through the Mazes and Labyrinths of this World, to our Rest and Happiness in the other; which does eminently shew the Usefulness of it.

Nor will the other parts of Knowledge I propose to promote by the following kind of Libraries, be Unuseful. From History we can take a noble view of all Mankind; and by our Observations from thence of the different Fates of Men, and their Causes, we may form to our selves most excellent Rules for the Conduct of Humane Life. Travels discover the Commodities of Foreign Countries, to the great Enriching of our own; and not only Merchants, but all other Persons besides, by reading the Accounts of so many Nations of Men in the World, sunk down to the lowness of Brutes for want of Knowledge, may see Infinite Reason to bless that
IV. God, who by an admirable Religion enlightning our Minds, has rais'd us above the Animal Life; and so vastly distinguishes us from the Barbarous part of Mankind. What shall I say? By Knowledge in Humanity or Morality, men become, as it were, *τεταγμένοι ἐις ζωὴν 'αιώνιον*, disposed for the Reception of that Faith which will save 'em, and those Divine Graces, which will render 'em capable of Eternal Life. By an Insight into Nature, Gardening, Agriculture, &c. All sorts of Persons will learn how to meliorate their Condition and manner of Living whilst here on Earth. And if there may be added hereafter to our Libraries, the Best Authors in *Mathematicks*, *Physick* and *Law*, there will be no means wanting even in the most Uncultivated parts of this Kingdom, to render the Thinking, Reading, and the best part of the Inhabitants thereof both Intellectually, Morally and Civilly, as
V. well as Divinely Happy: For which Reasons I hope, though this Design seems more immediately directed to the Service of the Clergy, yet Gentlemen, Physicians and Lawyers will perceive they are not neglected in it, and will see themselves concerned to promote it.

And indeed those Persons of Quality, whose Eldest Sons being commonly brought up to no Employment, have a great deal of Time lying upon their Hands, seem to me to be as nearly concern'd as any, to *favour* it. For many of these young Gentle-Men, when removed from the Universities,

those Fountains of useful and substantial Knowledge, and residing all their Life-time in Countries, where they can meet with no Books to employ themselves in reading, and whereby they may be able to improve the Talent they have there gain'd; they do thereupon too commonly become not so conspicuous for their Excellent Knowledge, and Morals,
VI. as will be ever expected from Men of Rank and Station in their Country. And when they happen into one another's Company, for want of Good Sense, are forc'd too often to fill up their Discourse, and maintain a Conversation, in the Porterly Language of Swearing, and Obscenity.

In short, I think all Persons of a liberal and ingenuous Education, are so much concern'd in a Design of this Nature, that I cannot but flatter my self with the Expectations of some sort of Success in the Undertaking. But however I hope I have offer'd at nothing which all candid Persons will not own to be honestly design'd, and which Scholars of all Professions will not at leastwise wish well to, though for want of men of a publick and active Spirit to manage it in their respective Towns or Deanaries, little or nothing should be accomplish'd in it.

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(1) # PROPOSALS

TO THE

Gentry and Clergy of this Kingdom,

For Purchasing Lending Libraries in all the Deanaries of *England*, and Parochial Libraries for *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and other of the Foreign Plantations, pursuant to what is spoke of Both, in the Prefatory Epistle to the *Bibliotheca Parochialis.*

Honoured SIRS,

AMongst the many Laudable Contrivances for promoting Religion and Learning in the World, in which several Persons of a Publick Spirit have labour'd more or less in all Ages, there seem none to me would be of greater Advantages to either, would tend more to cultivate the Minds of our young Gentry, and can be more adapted to the present Circumstances of our *Parochial Clergy* (one third of whom I am afraid are not enabled by their Preferments to pur-
(2) chase a fourth part of those Books, which it is absolutely necessary every Pastor should peruse; and yet from whom great measures of Knowledge are expected in this inquisitive Age) than if we could have *Lending Libraries* dispos'd, one in every Deanary throughout the Kingdom, for the Service of those who have occasion to borrow. I shall not here repeat what I have already spoken of the Benefit thereof, both to Clergy and Laity, in the Prefatory Epistle to my Bibliotheca Parochalis:

But having,

First, *Computed the Charge of each Library;*

Secondly, *I will shew by what means they may be purchas'd:*

Thirdly, *How they may be preserv'd:* And,

First, *As to the Charge,* I presume, if the Foundation of a Library were once laid in each Deanary, the Stock by one means or other would soon encrease to a compleat Sett of all necessary Books: And that well-chosen Books to the value of 30 *l.* would lay a good Foundation.

Secondly, I am next to shew by what Methods they may be purchas'd; and the most easie and likely Method I can propose, will be by Subscriptions rais'd amongst both Clergy and Gentry; each Clergy-man subscribing at the Visitation some small matter proportionuble to the Value of his Living, or Circumstances in the World; the Gentry, what in their Generosity they shall think fit. And the Subscriptions of both to be taken, and return'd to *London;* and the Libraries transmitted into the Country in the Method following.

(3) 1. That one Third of the Subscription-Mony, *viz.* 10 *l.* be subscrib'd, and paid at the next *Easter*-Visitation, to the Rural Dean, or whom the Clergy of the Deanary shall agree upon, and return'd up to the Treasurers of the Subscriptions, Mr. *Francis Evans*, Secretary to the Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, or Mr. *Thomas Taylor* at the Lord Almoner's Lodgings in *White-Hall.*

2. That within a Month after, the following Books to the value of Thirty Pound, be sent down into the subscribing Deanaries to such Places as from the Visitation shall be directed. And that they be made up in such Boxes, or Book-Presses, with Shelves in them, and Locks and Doors to 'em, as will serve both to preserve 'em in the Carriage down, and in the Place where they shall be deposited for the Publick Benefit. And being kept in such moveable Repositories, they can at any time be remov'd to any other part of the Deanary, as by the Vote of the Clergy at a Visitation shall be judged most convenient to have 'em lodg'd in; and that without the Charge of building any Room wherein to lay 'em up.

3. That to make up the remaining two Thirds for the Purchase of the Books, each of the Clergy do in their respective Parishes, and amongst the Gentry of their Acquaintance, sollicit some small Subscription towards this Publick Design, by which such Subscribers, whether Gentlemen, or Ladies, will be entitled to the Priviledge of borrowing at any time a Book for their own Reading; and that there may be proper and acceptable Books for them, there are some of the (4) most valuable pieces of History, Geography, and Travels, provided in the following Sett.

4. That what is Subscribed by the Gentry, be brought in to the next *Michaelmas* Visitation, and enter'd down in a Book, together with the Subscriptions of the Clergy, to be kept in every Library: and if there be something wanting to make up the remaining Twenty Pounds, it be made up by the Clergy, if there be any over, it be apply'd towards

paying for the Book-Presses and Carriage down, and the Surplusage be laid up in Bank against next *Easter* Visitation after this, towards purchasing another like quantity of Books, in order to compleat a useful and sufficient Library in the respective Deanary.

5. That the Books shall be afforded to the Subscribers, something below the prices at which the Clergy, or Gentry usually buy 'em by Retail in the Booksellers Shops.

6. That what *Gratis*-Books will be obtain'd of the Bookseller, in consideration of so many bought of 'em towards these *Lending Libraries;* that these be set apart towards making up *Parochial Libraries* for the *Foreign Plantations.* And it is found, that one Library in ten at least, will be obtain'd by this means towards the Publick Design; to which all Christians, methinks, should readily contribute; such as are most able, by immediate Benefactions; and every one that is *not unable* in such a way as this, in which they have a valuable consideration to themselves for what they do towards carrying on that *necessary Work;* for so I shall be bold
(5) to call it, if it were but to ward off the Reproach under which we justly lye, even to this day; that whilst our Adversaries the *Papists,* are at vast Charges every Year, in promoting their false Superstition in the remotest parts of the World, there are but too few amongst us, *pudet haec Opprobria dici, & dici potuisse,* who have yet shew'd that Value for their Religion, and the Honour of God, as to contribute in any considerable way to advance the Glory of their Saviour, by propagating the best Religion in the whole World, either here at home, or amongst their Country-men abroad.

There is but one Objection I can foresee against this Method of procuring these *Lending Libraries,* and that is the excessive scarcity of Money, especially amongst the Clergy at this time, when they are exhausted more than others by Publick Payments.

But indeed, the very Objection it self seems to me to be the most forcible Reason for putting a Design of this Nature

on foot, and that especially at this time. For is it so, that one third of the English Clergy, are not now in a Condition to buy a sufficient quantity of Books? Well, but on the other side, I hope it will be granted, that Books must be had, or else Religion must e'en fall to the ground. And if so, putting both together, I think it will follow, that since very few are capable to furnish their Studies at their own proper Cost, it is therefore necessary that all should join their Forces; and what is impossible for 'em singly, would be easie for 'em jointly; for *Multorum manibus grande Levatur Onus;* so that indeed this is really the most proper Season to set such a Design on foot.

(6) But then if we consider to what a high Perfection, most, if not all parts of useful Learning have advanc'd in this last Age, so that we may rather fear a declension thereof (as is usual with everything when it comes to its full growth) than hope for much farther Improvements therein: But above all, if we consider the impious Principles which have begun to advance against us, and have gain'd so much ground upon us by the Industry of some, who at great Charge and Expence, do labour to poison both Town and Country with their Atheistical and Socinian Notions; These things, I say, if duly consider'd, will convince us, that this seems to be the very time pointed out by the Divine Providence for us to provide ourselves of *Magazines*, out of which we may be sufficiently furnish'd with that Panoply of excellent Learning and Knowledge, whereby we shall secure our selves and others, *against the fiery Darts of the Devil;* and may be enabled at leastwise to stand our ground, whilst Atheists, Deists and Socinians, do so *earnestly contend* against *the Faith.* So much, upon many great Accounts, it seems to me to be a most proper Season now to begin the Foundation of *Lending Libraries* throughout the Kingdom.

And whereas many of our Reverend Clergy have Noble Libraries of their own, so as not to need themselves a Supply of this Nature, I am not to doubt their Subscribing notwith-

standing, since the Design of these Libraries is not to serve a Man's private, but the publick Interest of Religion and Learning; which such Reverend and Learned Persons do well know (none better) that every one is bound to provide for, more than his own, especially those whose Condition and Circumstances in the World shall best enable 'em for good Works.

(7) I am not indeed so sanguine as to hope or expect, that notwithstanding the Charge in the foregoing Method is made so easie, that a Clergy-man of Two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, need not subscribe at a Visitation above Ten or Fifteen Shillings, of One hundred Pounds above Five or Ten Shillings, and of Fifty Pounds above half a Crown or Five Shillings; notwithstanding this, I am not, I say, so unacquainted with the Temper of the World, as to expect that an Affair of this Nature should not meet with Exceptions from some. And I also know the *Prince of Darkness* (the strength of whose Kingdom does lye in the Ignorance of Mankind) has too much Interest at stake, to let a Design, which does so directly tend to the Ruine of his Dominion over the Souls of Men, go on without Obstruction. But however the Management of this Affair falling into the hands of such as do so well understand the Use and Benefit of Books, and who are withal so sensible of the peculiar need of 'em at this time, I hope there will be a sufficient number found in most Deanaries of well-disposed and publick-spirited Persons, both amongst the Clergy and Gentry, who will carry it on in their respective Districts: And even those, who may be backward at first, may come in afterwards, when they shall better consider the Tendency which these Libraries will have to the Glory of God, and to increase the Usefulness and Esteem of the Clergy: So that tho' some should happen at first to refuse subscribing, it will not I hope discourage others from promoting the Design, so far as to make up at next Visitation the first Ten Pounds amongst themselves towards laying the Foundation.

(8) *Thirdly, and now I am to shew how the Lending Libraries particularly, may be preserv'd.*

How the *Parochial* may be secur'd from Loss or Imbezelment, is, I hope satisfactorily shewed in the Prefatory Epistle to the *Bibliotheca Parochialis:* But it being design'd that these *Lending Libraries* should *travel abroad*, it may seem that the Books will be in danger to be soon lost by passing through so many hands: However, in order to their being fully secur'd, it may be provided by these following Methods; 1. That they be marked upon the Covers to what Deanary they belong. 2. That they be lock'd up in Book-Presses made on purpose to keep them in. 3. That they be deposited with the Rural Dean, or with the Minister or School-Master in some Market-Town, if near the Centre of the Deanary, that so they may with very little trouble be sent for any Market-day, and as easily return'd within a limited time: And it may be presum'd, that any Minister or School-Master, for the use of such a Library under his Key, will be willing to undertake the trouble to lend out the Books, and receive them in upon occasion. 4. That the Limitation of Time for keeping a borrowed Book be determined by the Reverend Subscribers at the Visitation, as a Month for a Folio, a Fortnight for a 4*o*. and a Week for an 8*o*. which will have this good Effect, that a Book will be read over with speed and care; which if one's own, might lye in a Study without being quickly or very carefully perused, upon presumption that being one's own it may at any time be read; and therefore this by the way may be consider'd as one Advantage of *Lending Libraries.* 5. That the Borrower having sent a Note desiring any Book, his
(9) Note be filed up, and his Name enter'd in a Book kept in the Library for that purpose, what Year, Month and Day he borrowed such a Book; and upon the Return of the Book, the Note be also return'd, and the Name of the Borrower cross'd out. 6. That a Register of the Books belonging to every Deanary, be given to the respective

Bishops, and Arch-Deacons. 7. That each Library may be visited once a Year by the Arch-Deacon in Person, or by three of his Clergy deputed by him to see that the Books be not imbezeled or lost. And by these means I believe they will be very well preserved; for why? Their being Letter'd to what Deanary they belong, will prevent their being transferr'd into any Man's private keeping; or if they are, they'll be as readily discover'd and own'd, as any living Creature by its Ear-Mark; and the Arch-Deacon's Visitation will call 'em all in once a-year: And indeed so far am I from fearing that these Libraries will suffer any Diminution by loss of Books, that I believe they will daily encrease; for the thing being once put on foot, the Clergy at every Visitation will be apt to continue some small Subscriptions to buy in the new pieces as they shall come forth; especially such as shall tend considerably to the improvement of any part of Christian Knowledge. And moreover, the Foundation being once laid, many Learned Persons amongst the Clergy, and others who have a Zeal for the Churches Good, will be likely to leave at their Death, their own Libraries, as additions to these Lending Libraries proposed, and perhaps Legacies to buy Books: Not to say that the thing being once begun, I could easily propose, how the whole Course of History and Humanity may be added; and that farther means may be found out in time, to provide all
(10) the *Smaller Livings* throughout the Kingdom, with such *Lesser Parochial Libraries* as are design'd for the Plantations.

But to proceed, if now and then a Book should be lost, this ought no more to discourage our Design, than it should have hindered our Fore-Fathers from building of Parsonage-Houses for us, because sometimes they fall to decay; or from giving Tythes and Glebe for the Maintenance of the Clergy, because these do suffer daily diminutions by Modus's [34] growing upon us through the importunity of some, and the more Violent Sacrilegious Invasions of the Churches Rights by

others. Not to say, That there may be Provision made by Law to secure these Libraries, and to repair their Loss, as well as the other Dilapidations of the Church.

And, indeed, if it could be brought about by any means, that we might have 400 *Lending Libraries* fixt throghout the Kingdom, and the Clergy, by a small Subscription in every Deanary, should continue to add the valuable new Books that shall come out hereafter; Here would be sufficient Incouragement provided for the Learned Men of our Universities, to undertake the giving us some more such Editions of the Fathers, and other Ancient Writers, as that of St. *Cyprian*, *Thucydides*, &c. A certain Sale of 400 Books, being enough to discharge an Impression; which one thing, as it has in this Age so much contributed to the Learning and Honour of a Neighbouring Nation, where upon the Encouragement of the Monasteries taking off each of 'em, one of every New Edition of a *Father*, or other Book of Value, the Learned of that Kingdom have been thereby encouraged, and
(11) enabled to give the World such Editions as they may justly glory in; so it would make exceedingly for the *Honour of our Universities*, and not a little for the *Int'rest of our Nation:* For as to the former, it would raise a Noble Spirit of Emulation in those Learned Societies, and would excite more of the Members thereof, to Exert themselves in being serviceable to the World in this kind; who now for want of Encouragement, cannot spend their time so much to their own, and the Publick Good in this way, as otherwise they might. And as to the latter, whereas some Thousand Pounds worth of Valuable Books, Printed in Foreign parts, have been Imported Yearly, we by reason of the better Editions of the Ancient Writers, which our more Learned Men are able to give the World, might be able to employ our own Paper-Makers, Stationers, Printers, Book-Binders, Book-Sellers here at home, to the maintaining many Thousand Persons amongst us, and might export so much of our own, and Foreign Paper

Manufactured by our selves, as would turn the Balance of that part of Trade considerably on our own side.

And now I am to entreat the Candour of my Reverend Brethren, that, however I may be mistaken in the Practicableness of this Design, they would believe I sincerely intend the Good of Souls, and the Honour of my Function, and of my Nation too, in all that is here propos'd. That I am so pressing for both *Parochial Libraries* in the Plantations, and *Lending Libraries* in *England*, is, because in the former, I know no good a Clergy, who are not able to furnish themselves with Books in going over, can do in a Country where none are
(12) to be bought when they are there, nor to be had from the Merchants, but at excessive Rates. And in the latter, I am certain that Good cannot be done, which is expected from every Minister here in *England*, when the Third part of our Parochial Clergy are not enabled by their Preferments, to buy the fourth part of those Books, which are necessary to enable 'em fully to instruct the People in the meer Necessaries to Salvation. And as for our younger Gentry, I cannot think but it would tend extreamly to furnish their Minds also with that useful Knowledge in History, Travels, Humanity, Agriculture, and all such Noble Arts and Sciences, as will render 'em serviceable to their Families and Countries, and will make 'em considerable both at home and abroad: And that it will very much keep 'em from idle Conversation, and the Debaucheries attending it, to have choice Collections of such Books dispers'd through all the Kingdom, and waiting upon 'em in their own Parlors, as will ennoble their Minds with Principles of Vertue and true Honour, and will file off that Roughness, Ferity and Barbarity, which are the never failing Fruits of Ignorance and Illiterature. *Standing Libraries* will signifie little in the Country, where Persons must ride some miles to look into a Book; such Journeys being too expensive of Time and Money: But *Lending Libraries*, which come home to 'em without Charge, may tolerably well supply the Vacancies in their own Studies,

till such time as these *Lending* may be improv'd into *Parochial Libraries.*

And whereas it may be objected, that the Books will be so often Borrow'd, that it will be hard for any one to have the Book he wants. I am so far from being much concern'd to answer it, that I heartily wish the great
(13) Use and frequent Borrowing of Books out of these Libraries, may make it a real Objection. But to reply as far as necessary; the Limitations mention'd above, will fetch home any Book a Person shall want, within a Month at farthest; and indeed their being several Authors specify'd in such a Library, as I design, upon most of the Subjects, if one be not to be had, Satisfaction may be sought in the mean time from another. And, in the whole, I am the more forward to hope for great Advantages from these *Lending Libraries* especially, having had some Experience of the Benefit thereof in a Country, where one such Library left by a Pious and Learned Divine at his Death, has done much to improve many of the Parochial Clergy within some Miles, (who constantly borrow out of it,) to that degree, as to make 'em as useful Men in their Station, as any I have had the Happiness to be acquainted with.

In short, as meer Zeal for Publick Service hath excited me to leave no Stone unturn'd, to procure *Parochial Libraries* for the Plantations, in which I thank God I have had hitherto no mean Success; so if with the same Labour I can be serviceable in the like Design to my dearest Mother the Church, and my Reverend Brethren at home, I shall think my self sufficiently happy in such an Employment: And indeed, as I know not that thing in the World, wherein I could take that Satisfaction, as in this piece of Service to our Church at home; so provided this Design of *Lending Libraries* in *England* should universally take, whereby, without any Man's Charge, properly speaking, so great an Advance will be made towards *Parochial Libraries* in the Plantations: Instead of *Libraries*

for *Maryland*, the bounds of my first Design, I shall not only
(14) extend my Endeavours for the Supply of all the *English* Colonies in *America* therewith; but can most willing be a Missionary into every one of those Provinces, to fix and settle them therein when they are obtain'd, being so fully perswaded of the great Benefit of these kind of *Libraries*, that I should not think 'em too dear a Purchase, even at the hazard of my Life, being to both Church and Clergy

A most Devoted, and

Humble Servant,

THO. BRAY.

(15) NOTE, I. *In those Large and Populous Cities, where there will be Subscribers enough to raise a Library, there the Library may be appropriated solely to the Use of the Clergy and Gentry of that Place; only it may be expected from the Clergy especially, that their* Quota *of Subscriptions be made also towards the Deanary-Libraries for the Use of the Rural Clergy, it being the First and Principal Design to supply them, especially those in smaller Vicarages and Curacies.*

2. *If in the same Deanary there are several Market-Towns, it would be happy if the Foundation of a Library could be laid in each of 'em, Libraries being more peculiarly useful in Market-Towns, where, though it be requisite the Abilities of the Clergy should be the greatest, yet the Provision and Maintenance for that Purpose is commonly the least.*

3. *If the Foundation of a Library can be laid in every Market-Town, then the adjacent Clergy and Gentry may entitle themselves by their Subscriptions, to the Library of such Neighbouring Towns, from whence they shall be able with most ease and conveniency to send for a Book at any time.*

4. *If these Deanary-Subscriptions shall so multiply, that any one of the Books proposed in the following Sett shall become so scarce, as not to be had at all, or at an unreasonable rate, then another Book equivalent in its intrinsick Worth and Price shall be sent in its stead.*

(p. 16 is blank.)

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(17) THE

CATALOGUE of BOOKS

Design'd to lay the Foundation of

LENDING-LIBRARIES[35]

To be fix'd in all the Market-Towns in *England*,

FOR

The Use of the Clergy, School-Masters, *and* Gentlemen *of such Towns, and Parishes adjoining, as shall subscribe towards the Purchase of the said Books.*

History,
Ecclesiastical,
General.
Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, 3 *Vol. Fol.*
Platina's Lives of the Pope's; continu'd by Sir *Paul Ricaut. Fol.*
Particular,
(18) *Sleidan*'s History of the Reformation of the Church, from the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome, Fol.*
Bishop *Burnet*'s History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*, 2 *Vol. Fol.*

Civil,

General,

Usserii Annales V. & N. Testamenti, *Fol.*

Particular,

Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of *Europe*, 8°,

Mazaray's History of *France*, *Fol.*

Sir *R. Baker*'s Chronicle of the Kings of *England*, continu'd to the latter End of King *Charles* the Second, *Fol.*

Geography and Travels,

General,

Varenius's Geography, with *Sanson*'s Maps, and the County-Maps of *England*, *Fol.*

Thesaurus Geographicus, *Fol.*

Particular,

Camden's *Britannia*, *Fol.*

Dr. *Brown*'s Travels through the greatest part of *Europe*, *Fol.*

(19) *Misson*'s Travels to *Italy*, 2 *Vol.* 8°.

Sir *George Wheeler*'s Travels into *Greece*, *Fol.*

Sir *John Chardin*'s Travels through the *Black Sea*, and the Country of *Colchis* into *Persia*, and the *East-Indies*.

Knox's History of the Island of *Ceylon*, *Fol.*

Gage's Description of the *West-Indies*, 8°.

Dampier's Voyage round the World, 8°.

Theology,

I. Apologetical,

Grotius de Veritate Christianae Religionis, 1°.

Parker's Demonstration of the Law of Nature, and of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion, 4°.

Bishop *William*'s Sermons at Mr. *Boyle*'s Lectures, 4°.

Bishop *Wilkin*'s Natural Religion, 8°.

II. General Bodies of Divinity,

Ellis 39 Articuli, 12°.

Dr. *Scot*'s Works, 4 *Vol.* 8°.

Phillippi à Limborch Theologia Christiana, Fol.
Turretina Compendium, 4°.

III. Particular upon some of the more important Subjects.

First, *Upon the Whole Body of Christian Faith, or on some of its Great Articles.*

Bishop *Pearson* on the Creed, *Fol.*
Dr. *Pelling*'s Divine Existence, 8°.
Bishop *Stillingfleet*'s Vindication of the Holy Trinity, 8°.
—— Upon the Satisfaction of Christ, 8°.
Dr. *Hody* upon the Resurrection, 8°.
Dr. *Sherlock* on Death, 8°.
—— On Judgment, 8°.

Secondly, *Upon what relates to the Duties of Christianity, and upon the Duties themselves.*

Suarez de Legibus, Fol.
Bishop *Taylor*'s *Ductor Dubitantium, Fol.*
Sanderson de Obligatione Conscientiae, 8°.
—— 9 *Casus*, 8°.
Whole Duty of Man's Works.
Kettlewel's Measures of Christian Obedience, 8°.
Goodman's Penitent pardon'd, 8°.
Bishop *Patrick* on Repentance, and the Lent-Fast.
Dr. *Hooper* on the Lent-Fast, 8°.
Kettlewel on the Sacrament, 8°.
Dr. *Lucas* of Happiness, 3 *Parts*, 8°.

IV. Sermons.

Tillotson's Sermons, *Fol.*
Sir *Matth. Hales*'s Contemplations, Moral and Divin, 3 *Parts*, 8°.

V. Controversie.

Dr. *Comber*'s *Roman* Forgeries, with the Church-History, 4 *Parts*, 4°.
Mr. *Allen*'s Works, 4 *Parts*, 8°.
Falkner's *Libertas Ecclesiastica*, 8°.
Bishop *King*'s Invention's of Men in the Worship of God, with the Defences, 8°.

Snake in the Grass, 8°.

VI. Humanity,
Virgil,
Horace,
Juvenal, and *Persius*, } *In Usum Delphini.*

VII. Towards the Promoting of Natural Knowledge.
Dr. *Gibson*'s Anatomy, 8°.
Compleat Gardener, by Monsieur *Quintinie, Fol.*

(22) AN

ADDITION of BOOKS

To the Value of Ten Pounds, to be sent into such *Deanaries*, where the Clergy are in a Condition, and the Gentry are forward to lay a larger Foundation for these *Lending-Libraries;* the Money to be return'd, one half at present, the other at the next *Michaelmas*-Visitation.

DR. *Howell*'s Universal History, 3 *Vol. Fol.*
History of the Council of *Trent, Fol.*
Archbishop *Laud*'s Life, Publish'd by Mr. *Wharton, Fol.*
Thevenot's Travels into *Persia* and the *East-Indies, Fol.*
Dr. *Barrow*'s Sermon's, 3 *Vol. Fol.* not now to be had, but will be reprinted if this Design takes, as will many other valuable Books now out of Print, particularly the next, *viz.*
The *London* Divines Cases against the Dissenters, *Fol.*

N. *Commentators upon the Scriptures, such as Dr.* Hammond's *Annotations, and Bishop* Patrick's *Paraphrases, are not inserted in this* Catalogue, *because such ought to be always at hand to be consulted upon occasion; whereas the Books falling under this Design are to be read through, and then speedily return'd.*

FINIS.

71-72

APOSTOLICK CHARITY,

ITS

NATURE AND EXCELLENCE

CONSIDER'D.

IN A

DISCOURSE

Upon *Dan.* 12. 3.

Preached at St. *Pauls*, *Decemb.* 19. 1697. at the Ordination of some Protestant Missionaries to be sent into the Plantations.

To which is Prefixt,

A General View of the English Colonies *in* America, *with respect to Religion; In order to shew what Provision is wanting for the Propagation of* Christianity *in those Parts.*

By THOMAS BRAY, D D.

LONDON,

Printed by *W. Downing*, for *William Hawes*, at the Sign of the *Rose* in *Ludgate-Street*, 1698.

A GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA,

With Respect to

RELIGION,

In order to shew what Provision is wanting for the Propagation of *Christianity* in Those Parts.

Colonies.	*Parishes & Churches*	*Ministers*	*Libraries*
I. *New found land* Hath 5 or 6 English Settlements, wherein are near 500 Families constantly upon the Island, besides the great Numbers of Ships and Seamen, who put in at Fishing-Seasons.			
II. *New England.*	Well provided for the Propagation of Religion in the *Independent* Way, having 110 Churches, together with an University; [36] as also a Fund for the Propagation of the Faith amongst the Native *Indians.*		
	There is also 1 Church at *Boston* after *the Church of England* Form.	1 Minister 1 Assistant.	1 Library

(v)	Colonies.	Parishes & Churches	Ministers	Libraries
III.	*New York.*	1 Church in the Fort. 1 Church in the City. 2 *Dutch* Churches. 1 *French* Church. 13 Churches.	1 Minister in the Fort. 1 Minister in the City. 2 *Dutch* Ministers. 1 *French Minister.*	1 Library
	1. *Long Island.* A populous Colony belonging to the Government of New-York, having in the East-part 10 English-Towns, wherein are computed above 800 Families; and in the West-part 9 Dutch-Towns, wherein are upwards of 500 Families.		Not 1 *Church* of *England* Minister, tho' much desir'd in the *English* Part. 3 *Dutch* Ministers in the West-Part.	
	2. *Albany.* A large City, consisting of 400 Families, bordering upon the *Indians*, and belonging to the Government of *New York.*	1 Church in the Fort for the Garrison, consisting of 2 Foot-Companies, and the *English* Inhabitants of the Town. 1 *Dutch* Church. 1 *French* Church. 1 *Swedish* Church.	1 *Dutch* Minister. 1 *French* Minister. 1 *Swedish* Minister.	
IV.	*East New Jersey.*	In *East-Jersey* there are 8 Towns, no Church.	1 Minister going over.	A Library begun.
V.	*West*	In this Province there are also several Towns.		
VI.	*Pensylvania.*	1 Church at *Philadelphia*, having a considerable Number of *Church of England* Protestants.	1 Minister. 1 School-Master.	1 Library.

	Colonies.	Parishes & Churches	Ministers	Libraries
(vi) VII.	*Mary-Land.*	30 Parishes, but meanly Endow'd, the Country being but lately divided into Parishes, and the Churches but lately built, to the great Charge of the present Governour, Colonel *Nicholson*, [37] and the Country.	16 Ministers.	16 Libraries.
VIII.	*Virginia.*	50 Parishes, with 100 Churches & Chapels. There is also a Noble College [38] now Erected, and Endow'd by His present Majesty and the late Queen; and carry'd on from the first Foundation with the great Charge, Application, and Management of Colonel *Nicholson*, and the other Trustees and Governours thereof.	30 Ministers	
IX.	*North Carolina.*	1 Church lately built at *Charles-Town.*	1 Minister going over	1 Library.
X.	*South*			
XI.	*Bermudas.*	8 Tribes or Parishes, wherein are 9 Churches, and near 1000 Families.	3 Ministers	3 Libraries.
XII.	*Bahama* Islands, *viz.*			
	1. *Providence.*	Has 80 Families with 1 Church lately built.	1 Minister.	
	2. *Eleutheria.*	Has about 20 Families.		
(vii)	3. *Andros.*	Has several Families.		
XIII.	*Jamaica.*	15 Parish-Churches.	8 Ministers	2 Libraries begun.
XIV.	*Anguilla.*	A Poor Island, having several *English* upon it, but not able of themselves to build a Church, nor maintain a Minister.		

	Colonies.	*Parishes & Churches*	*Ministers*	*Libraries*
XV.	*St. Christophers.*	6 Parish-Churches.	1 Minister	1 Library begun.
XVI.	*Antego.* [38a]	5 Churches.	3 Ministers	1 Library begun.
XVII.	*Mevis.* [38b]	3 Parish-Churches.	3 Ministers.	1 Library begun.
XVIII.	*Monserrat.*	3 Parish-Churches.	3 Ministers.	
XIX.	*Barbados.*	14 Parish-Churches.	14 Ministers.	
XX.	*St. Vincents.*			

1. By what goes before it may appear, That several of our Colonies do want Churches and Parishes, and that one half at least of the Parishes want Ministers.
2. By Experience, as well as the Reason of the Thing, I'm convinc'd That 100 *l.* laid out in a LIBRARY, is what will best induce a Learned and Sober Minister to
(viii) go into the Service of any part of the Church in the Plantations; And that the same is a necessary Encouragement, considering that few Men of Fortunes, who are able to purchase Books for themselves, will go into such remote Parts.
3. By what goes before it may also appear, That meerly the settling of LIBRARIES in the several Parishes of each Province will require a very considerable Fund, Fifty Pounds worth of Books being the least that can be suppos'd requisite to enable a Minister to discharge the Duties of his Function. Besides that, in the Chief Town in each Province it would be requisite to have a Library of more Universal Learning, for the Service and Encouragement of those who shall launch out farther in the pursuit of Useful Knowledge, as well Natural as Divine.
4. Besides LIBRARIES of Necessary Books in Divinity, for the Use of the Clergy, it will be requisite, in order to propagate Christian Faith and Manners, to furnish the respective Ministers with some Numbers of

Bibles, Catechisms, Common-Prayers, and other Practical and Devotional Pieces, to distribute *gratis*, especially in poorer Families.

(w) 5. It will be farther requisite to have free Schools erected, at leastwise one in every County, for the Education of their Children: And it would, in a more especial manner, become the Professors of so Excellent a Religion as ours, to have a Provision made in one or two Schools at leastwise, in every Province, for the Instruction of half a dozen *Indian* Youth, to be sent afterwards amongst their own People, to civilize and convert them.

Thus, in short, I have endeavoured to give a *General View* of the State of the *Plantations*, with respect to *Religion*, and to hint at what is wanting to promote it: And from this very slender View how easie is it to see, and with what Indignation can we behold, how many *English* Colonies there are, the Trade of one whereof is sometimes computed to be worth 500000 *l. per Annum* to this Nation, in which there is no *Church*, nor *Preacher*, nor *Publick Worship*, nor *Sacraments* administred. The *Mahometan* does not so little regard his *false Prophet*. He no sooner gains any new Province, but he erects his *Moschs*, and places the *Crescent* upon the top of them, to intimate that his Religion shall increase, or it is not his fault. And the *Papists*, we do well know, spare no (x) Cost in sending their *Missions* into all the parts of the known World. And it is very worthy our Notice, that the *Dutch East-India* Company do Yearly expend, and that with great Success, 15000 *l. per Annum* in the *East-Indies* alone, for the Maintaining and Propagating the Christian Faith. And now, that so little should be yet done, so much as to preserve in Being that *Pure* and *Undefil'd Religion* which we profess, even in those Colonies of *English* Men, from whence the whole Kingdom has been so much Enrich'd, as well the *Gentleman*, by the Advance of his *Rents*, as the *Merchant*, by the Increase of his *Stores*, and the *Mechanick*, by the Vending of his *Manufactures*, is truly an amasing, as well

as a melancholy Consideration to such as have any true Love to God, or the Souls of Men.

But, alas! how few are there amongst us who do in the least reflect upon, or at all value the inestimable Advantages which, above the rest of the World, they enjoy by being Christians. It is now an indifferent thing with many what Religion Mankind is of; so that, according to those Men, the Son of God did in vain descend from Heaven; and that grand Dispensation of the Gospel, and that Mystery of our Redemption, the Wisdom and Goodness of which the Blessed Angels do with Admiration adore, was to little purpose, and might have been as well spar'd, for that the Heathens are
(xi) in as good a Condition as we. Nay, *Christ Crucify'd* is now become, as well as formerly, to some, a *Stumbling-Block;* to many, *Foolishness*, even the Subject of their Ridicule and Raillery. And these cannot but be look'd upon as Ominous presages of some heavy Judgments upon us; for as an ingenious Person doth singularly well observe, *Whenever a Country loses that Reverence that is due to Religion, and the Laws, we may safely pronounce that its Ruine is not very distant.*

And as Contempt of Religion and the Laws is a sure mark of a declining Nation; so new Colonies and Societies of Men must soon fall to pieces, and dwindle to nothing, unless their Governours and Magistrates interpose, to season betimes the Minds of such a new People with a sence of Religion, and with good and vertuous Principles.[39]

Disc. of the Trade of *Eng.* Part II, p. 265.

These are Sentiments, I know, quite different from the Politicks of some Men, But those who heartily believe God and his Providence, are firmly perswaded, that the Happiness and Well-being of any People does advance, or decline, in proportion to the Supports that are given, and the Regards that are paid to *True Religion.*

And I must with Gratitude acknowledge, that some such I have met with in the Prosecution of this Design, which
(xii) I have engaged in for the *Plantations*, or else the Expence,

as well as the Fateigue, had been wholly insupportable. But as what has been hitherto done, does but let me into the View of so much more, which is still wanting to Propagate and Maintain Christianity in those Parts, so after that my Expectations of a more Publick Provision for this great Work have fail'd me, I must again renew my Applications to such Pious Persons who have a just Value of the Worth of their own, and others Souls. And if the following Discourse upon the Nature and Excellency of this kind of Charity above all others, shall contribute any thing to promote the Design, I shall obtain an End, to accomplish which I could be content to sacrifice my Life, with the Remainder of my small Fortunes; and those worthy Persons will doubtless find it upon their Accompt, when to be found a good Steward, to the Honour and Glory of God, of the Talents which He has given, will afford them those superlative Degrees of Joy, which are beyond the Imagination of us here below to conceive, and which therefore the following *Discourse* does not pretend so much as to shadow.

(1) DAN. XII. 3.

They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever.

THIS, and the two preceding Verses are a Prophecy of the future State of the Church, at the two great Advents of our Saviour to it. In the *first* Verse is foretold, what dreadful Distresses and Difficulties it should struggle with. In the *second* and *third*, are declar'd, what inexpressible Rewards will Crown the Labours of Christ's Faithful Servants, especially of those who have been Instrumental in the Instruction and Conversion of Mankind. *They that be wise*, or Teachers, or Instructers, as some render it,

shall shine as the, &c. In my Enlargement upon which Words, I shall do these four things.

(2) First, *I will shew you what is meant by turning many to Righteousness.*

Secondly, *Who they are that have, whose Duty yet it is, and who may still be said to turn many to Rightecusness.*

Thirdly, *That it will be found one Day the highest pitch of Wisdom to have been Instrumental in this blessed Work.* Because,

Fourthly, *and* Lastly, *Such shall be the most gloriously Rewarded.* It is *they that shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament, and as the Stars for ever and ever.*

And, *First*, I will shew what is meant by *turning many to Righteousness.* Now *Righteousness*, in the strictest sence of the Word, does denote only one Vertue amongst the whole Train of Christian Graces, namely, Justice and Equity betwixt Man and Man. But in its more comprehensive Acceptation, (and so it is generally to be understood throughout the Scriptures) it does import no less than the whole of that Religion, which will render us accepted by God, and in which, if we be found, when we come to die, God will pass a favourable Sentence upon us at the Day of Judgment.

(3) And such a Righteousness, as it is now fixt, and stated under the Gospel, consists in this, that in the first place we *Renounce the Devil and all his Works*, that is, abandon the Service of that Arch-Rebel, the Devil, and detest and forsake all his Works of Sin. He having himself most ungratefully Revolted from God, has not only carry'd whole Legions of fallen Angels into a cursed Rebellion against their Creator, but has drawn off the far greatest part of Mankind into the same wicked Apostacy with himself; insomuch, that divide the whole Earth into thirty Parts, it is computed by skilful Geographers, that nineteen of it are Inhabited by Idolaters, that is, Men ignorant of the true God; and in effect worshippers of Devils: Not to say what Idolatrous, and other destructive Heresies he has brought into Christendom it self, and even in those Churches of Christ where God is best known, the Chris-

tian Faith the best understood, and Christianity profess'd in its greatest Purity. It is a sorrowful Consideration, how much the Works of the Devil, Magick, Sorcery, Lying, Perjury, Uncleanness, Murder, Rapine, and Violence, and indeed, all manner of Wickedness, are constantly and openly committed and avow'd. And now a most considerable part of
(4) that Righteousness we are here upon consists in this, That we abandon the wicked Party of Satan's Adherents, either Foreign or Domestick; and that being lifted in the Service of the true God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we give up our selves to his Government and Obedience. And this is that so material a part of Righteousness, call'd *Repentance from dead Works*, Heb. vi. 1.

A second part of this Righteousness is Faith, that is, the Knowledge and Belief of God in his Nature and Attributes, and a firm practical Belief of Christ the *only Begotten Son of God*, as the great Mediator betwixt God and Man, who, to that End, having took upon him our Nature, was Invested with the threefold Office of a *Prophet*, to Instruct us in the way to be Reconciled to God; of a *Priest*, to satisfie his Justice for all our past Offences; and of a *King*, to Conduct and Govern us; and finally, to Reward us for all our Services. *This*, also *is Life eternal*, or another part of that Righteousness for which we shall be Rewarded with Life Eternal, *Thus to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent*, John xvii. 3.

A third is, to *Obey God's Holy Will and Commandments, and to walk in the same all the Days of our Life*, that is, hav-
(5) ing abandon'd the Service of Satan, and yielded our selves up to the Faith of Christ, the Completion of our Righteousness will be this, to live the remaining part of our Lives to the Honour of God, by paying him a faithful Obedience to all his most Just and Righteous Commands. And *Blessed are they who do his Commandments, for they only shall have right to the Tree of Life*, Rev. xxii. 14. Thus, in short, you

see the state of that Righteousness, upon the account of which we shall be justify'd and sav'd.

And now it will be easie to understand, what it is to *Turn many to Righteousness.* And in the highest and most exalted sence of the Phrase, it is to Reduce whole Provinces under the Obedience of God. It is to rescue that unhappy part of Mankind, which have for so many Ages past, labour'd under the Tyranny of Satan; it is to reduce them to the just and happy Government of their rightful Lord and Master Jesus Christ. It is to Instruct those Dark Corners of the Earth, in which the Light of the Gospel has not yet shone, or but very dimly: It is to enlighten them with a full and bright Knowledge of their Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. And it is lastly, to render them obsequious Servants to a just and holy God, *whose Service is perfect freedom:*

(6) It is, I say, to divest them of that Inhumanity, Savageness, and Brutality, whereby they are Beasts of Prey to each other, and to stamp upon their Souls that lovely Image of God, consisting in Knowledge, Faith, Love, and Purity, whereby they will become Angels, nay, God's, one to another. This is to *Turn many to Righteousness*, in the highest Sence of the Phrase: But in a Lower, yet a very Noble Sence, it is to be any ways Instrumental in the Instruction and Conversion of any Considerable number of Souls in any part of the World, as well within the Christian Pale as elsewhere: Within the Christian Pale, I say, where, God knows, there is still that Ignorance, Profaneness, and Immorality, which loudly *call for more Labourers into the Vineyard*, to carry on to Perfection the Information and Conversion of Christians. And in both these Senses.

Secondly, *Who they are who have heretofore, whose Duty yet it is, and who may still be said to Turn many to Righteousness,* is the second thing I propos'd to shew you. And here we are to consider, that as the Apostacy of Mankind from God began soon after the Creation, so God had his Ministers from the very beginning contesting with the

Powers of Darkness, and with all possible Application rescuing Mankind out of the *Snares of the Devil*, as *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enos*, and *Noah* before the Flood; which last, for his eminent and painful, tho' unsuccessful Services in this great Work, was call'd the *Preacher of Righteousness*, 2 Pet. ii. 5.

Nor did either the Occasion for the like Preachers of Righteousness cease, even after the dreadful Destruction by an universal Deluge; nor was God afterwards wanting to his own Honour, or the Good of Mankind, in sending his Prophets and Priests to be Preachers of Righteousness to a wicked World.

It was but very few Centuries after the Flood, that the whole Earth was again Revolted from God, and overspread with Wickedness; and it was not without a constant Succession of Priests and Prophets, as well as of Mercies and Destructions, that the Divine Providence did secure one only Nation, the *Jews*, in their Allegiance to him. And yet even these his *peculiar People, This Holy Nation*, in process of Time, had so corrupted themselves, that *their very Righteousness was as filthy Rags*, Isai. lxiv. 6. And both their Principles and Morals were so far debas'd, and the most demure and precise amongst them, the Scribes and Pharisees so defective in both, that our Saviour told his Diciples, *Except their Righteousness should exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, they should in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matt. v. 20.

And now when the Defection of Mankind from God was become so Universal, that it was time for him, either utterly to root out from the face of the Earth, all the Inhabitants of it, or he had no other way but by some Miracle of Mercy to Reform it; Then did the Divine Goodness, which always enclines him to the most Merciful part, choose to send an Ambassador Extraordinary to propose Terms of Reconciliation, and to invite Mankind home to God. And accordingly, *God, who at sundry Times, and in divers Manners, spake in time past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, did in these last*

Days, (or in the last great Age of the World) *speak unto us by his Son, whom he appointed Heir of all things, by whom also he made the World*, Heb. i. 1, 2.

And here, how without Wonder and Astonishment, can we behold, with what prodigious Zeal, Application, and Industry the Blessed Jesus set upon the great Work of Reforming
(9) Mankind. It was *his Meat and Drink to do the Will of him that sent him*, and accordingly *he continually went about doing Good*, both to the Bodies and Souls of Men. To their Bodies, by Healing them of all those manifold and mighty Distempers that had then invaded them: To their Souls, by Curing them of those most fatal Maladies of all, their Sins; to rid them of which, was so much the main and principal Design of his coming into the World, that from hence he was denominated a Saviour to it; *And they shall call his Name Jesus, for he shall heal his People from their Sins.* But the Original cause of all their Miseries, both Bodily and Spiritual, proceeding from the mischievous Enmity of Satan, he did with the utmost diligence pursue that Rebel, driving him out of the Bodies and Souls of Men; both which he had so universally Usurp'd, and did at that time so cruelly Tyrannize over.

And that he might at length be utterly dispossess'd of all his Dominion, and that no Corner of the Earth might be left him to exercise his Tyranny upon, when the Blessed Jesus was leaving the World himself, in pursuance of that *Power which was given unto him in Heaven, and on Earth*, he Commission'd his Apostles to prosecute the glorious Con-
(10) quest over the Devil, and all his Works, which he had begun, *commanding them to go, and disciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them, promising to be with them always, even unto the end of the World*, Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. And so faithful were they in the Execution of their Trust, that they soon dispers'd themselves into the utmost parts of the

Universe, so that not an Age had past, till *their Sound went into all the Earth, and their Words unto the Ends of the World*, Rom. x. 18. And thus you see who they are that have heretofore *Turn'd many to Righteousness.*

But who those are, *whose Duty yet it is, and who may still be said to do the same*, remains to be consider'd, and may God enable us to find them out.

And, *First*, This is a Work incumbent upon every Christian Church and Nation; but ought to be the Concern and Care of none more than ours, and can never be more seasonably set upon than at such a juncture as this. I say, to consider, and assist in the best Methods of *Turning many to Righteousness*, ought to be the Care and Concern of every Christian Church and Nation;
(11) and this out of a grateful Return for that Blessed Light of the Gospel which has shown amongst them, by which Christians are, or may be, (if they suffer themselves to be regulated by the Rules of Christianity, which so directly tend to render both private Persons and publick Societies happy) by which Christians may be, I say, so much distinguish'd from the deplorable State of those Barbarous and Savage Nations, where Ignorance of the True God and Religion overspreads their Country. Nothing more naturally diffuses its self than Light, and how prodigiously ungrateful would it be for a People themselves enlighten'd, not to spread that to all Mankind which was given them to shew others, as well as themselves, the Way to God, and their Happiness!

But especially this is a Care and Concern incumbent upon such a Church and Nation as ours. A Church so pure in its Doctrine, and so Heavenly in its Worship, as in that respect is the fittest in the World to be the Model to the New Acquisitions which shall be gain'd to the Church of Christ. But, alas, that it should be ever said, that another Church, whose Religion is so sadly corrupted by *Paganish* Superstitions, should yet be ten thousand times more

(12) Zealous, in Banishing Infidelity and Paganism out of the World than ours is!

And it is a Work in Gratitude due from such a Nation as this: A Nation so enrich'd by the Commerce and Commodities of so many Barbarous and Pagan Countries. Surely, *since we have in so plentiful a manner been made partakers of their Carnal Things, it is our Duty also to Minister to them in Spiritual things.*

And such a Work surely can never be more *Seasonably* promoted by any Church or Nation, than at such a juncture as this. What has made up so great a part of our Devotions, for some Years past, as our Thanksgivings for the little less than Miraculous Deliverances we have receiv'd, in the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties?

And when had this our Preservation so glorious a Completion, as at this time? and so solemn an Acknowledgement paid to Heaven for it, as lately in this Place? But what fulsome Hypocrisie would it be to thank God with such seeming Devotion, for the Preservation of a Religion we do not in the least Value? or, How can we be thought to Value it at all, if when it is in our Power to extend the Christian Pale so far as we may, and to the bringing into it so many Thousand Souls,
(13) over whom we have an absolute Dominion, should we yet take no Care about it?

Secondly, Those whose Duty it is in a more peculiar manner than others, to *Turn many to Righteousness,* are the Ministers of Religion; I say, in a more *peculiar Manner* than others; for we are not only ordained and separated for this Work, but the Instructing, Inlightning, and Informing of the World, which is the Foundation of all Righteousness, is peculiarly the Pastors Province. I do call the Instilling of Divine Knowledge into the Minds of Men, the *Foundation of all Religion:* For why? Knowledge of the true Nature of God, and of all the parts of that Religion which is to be paid him, is a necessary Guide and Director to all Virtuous

and Religious Practice, it being the same thing to the Soul, as the Eye is to the Body. Nor is Divine Knowledge necessary to Mens living Vertuously, only as it is a Guide and Director to us so to live, but it is requisite also, as it is the Principle and Reason whereon all virtuous and worthy Deeds are to be founded; insomuch, that a thing which is otherwise well done, if it be not done *knowingly*, but ignorantly, will not be imputed by God, nor Man, as a vertuous and laudable Action. Nay, the chiefest of all Divine Graces, if it be not acted
4) out of a through Knowledge of the Nature of God, and of true Religion, will e'en become, for want thereof, the Blackest of all Sins: as *Zeal*, when not guided by Knowledge, will easily be transported to Cruelty and Murther. What shall I say? The want of throughly understanding the true Nature of God, and the Nature and Design of the Christian Religion, is the only Cause of all that Superstition which is in the World; of Superstition I say, than which there is not a more grievous Malady that can possibly infect the Souls of Men, so as to render them more troublesome to themselves, more mischievous to the publick Good and Welfare of the Church, and to act more dishonourably and provoking to God. In short, it is Ignorance which is the Natural Parent of that Atheism and Infidelity so rife amongst Men; and indeed, not only of that, but of all other Vices and Wickednesses whatsoever.

And now it is the great Duty of the Ministers of Religion, to remove from the Minds of Men that Ignorance of Divine things, which is the cause of all their Miscarriages, and to instill into them those Doctrines and Religious Principles which are the Fountain of all their farther Righteousness.
5) This we are to attend upon, by *Catechizing*, and *Preaching*, and *Conference*, and whatever Methods can be thought most successful and effectual in the Instruction of Mankind; and those who shall best instruct their People, shall most effectually *Turn many to Righteousness:* And therefore,

Thirdly, Those Persons will be reputed to have no small share in this Blessed Work, who have put the Ministers of God in a Capacity of so Instructing his People, by making a Provision for the Acquisition, Maintenance, and Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Such are those who have been the Founders of Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Libraries. And not here to speak of the Excellency of such Charities, which directly tending to the Everlasting Happiness of the Souls of Men, must be as far beyond what terminate only on this Mortal Life, as the Soul is more Excellent than the Body; and as an Eternal is to be preferred to a Temporal Felicity: But not to insist on this: The Advantage of being thus Instrumental in Turning many to Righteousness lies here, That it is not only in the present Generation, that such are thus serviceable to the Souls of Men, but in all Ages to come, and when they shall be long dead, they will yet speak, and so speak as to have
(16) a Share in all the Conversions, which shall be made by Vertue, and through the Assistance of that Stock which they have laid up for the Promoting of Religion and Learning.

And especially, the Erecting of Libraries of necessary and useful Books in Divinity, is of all others a necessary Provision for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. For why? *The Priests Lips should preserve Knowledge*, because *the People are to seek the Law at his Mouth*, Mal. ii. 7. And the Measures of Knowledge a Minister is to be Master of, must be necessarily such as shall enable him to give his People an entire View of the whole Scheme of Christian Doctrine in that Connexion, wherein one part of it depends upon another, and for want of which, the Generality of Christians are so ignorant of the true Nature and Design of Christianity. Farther, a Pastor must thoroughly understand the Nature, Terms, and Conditions of the Covenant of Grace, and the Nature of Christ's Mediation, through which it was obtain'd. More particulary yet, he must be able clearly to explain, and fully to prove each Article

of his Christian Faith; many of which not being obvious to our Natural Reason, but capable of Proof only from the Scriptures, he must be well vers'd in the Language, and Manner of Speaking of the Holy Pen-Men, before they can be so explain'd and prov'd. And he must be able to state exactly the Nature and Extent of Christian Duties, which Knowledge depending upon a right Understanding of the Nature, and different Obligations of all those many sorts of Laws, Natural, Divine, and Humane, which regulate and direct our Duties. This is a part of Knowledge as extensive as it is necessary.

All which Premises being duly consider'd, and withall, that we cannot now work Miracles, and that *Inspiration* is no part of our Talent; but that we are left to the Ordinary means of Converting the World; *namely*, the Common Measures of God's Holy Spirit accompanying our hard Study: It must therefore clearly follow, that those Persons will be reputed to have no small share in this Blessed Work, who shall lay such a Foundation of Christian Knowledge, as without which, Humanely speaking, it is not possible the Pastors of Christ's Church should feed their Flock with necessary Instruction.

Thirdly, And now I am to shew you, *That it will be found one day the highest pitch of Wisdom to have been Instrumental in this Blessed Work of Turning many to Righteousness.* It is the part of Wisdom to propose to it self a Good End, and then to pursue it by due and proper Means. And proportionably, as the End is more or less excellent, and the Means more or less adapted to carry it on; in the same degree is a Man's Wisdom to be judg'd greater or less with relation to it. Now here the End is incomparably excellent, beyond any other that can be nam'd. For why? to *Turn many to Righteousness* is, in effect, to consult, and that in the highest Manner, the Honour and Glory of God, and the greatest Good and Happiness of Mankind, than which nothing can be thought of more Excellent. *To Turn many to Righteous-*

ness, you have also seen, is to dispossess Satan of an unrighteous Usurpation he has made upon God's Dominion over his own Creatures, and it is to reduce them under the Government of their Rightful Lord and Master. And can any thing be more glorious than such an Achievement? And it is so to rectifie the corrupt and sinful Nature of Men, and to bring them under the Direction of such Laws, as alone can make them happy: And what is it to be a Benefactor, if this be not?

Nor can any Means be more worthy and great, and better fitted to the Purposes propos'd, than those we have consider'd. For let the whole Nation, let the Clergy, and
(19) such as have Wealth and Substance, set heartily about it, and the Work is done.

This, in short, is to be *wise to Salvation*, and alas! what is the Wisdom of this World in comparison with this? What an Ideot is *David's* Fool, who when he might *make to himself Friends in Heaven of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, heaps up to himself Riches, not knowing who shall gather them?* And who is wholly solicitous to find out some one *from whom he might call his Lands after his own Name*, (fondly thinking, that by this means *his Houses shall continue for ever, and his Dwelling-Places to all Generations*). When by such Charities to the Souls of Men, as have been mentioned, he might provide that his Name be *written in the Book of Life*. Which brings me to the last thing propos'd; and shews, that to *Turn many to Righteousness* is the highest Wisdom, because that,

Fourthly, *Such will be the most Gloriously rewarded*. Besides, the Proposing of a Good End, and the Prosecuting of it by due and proper Means, there is something yet farther wanting to compleat the Wisdom of our Actions, and
(20) that is, to do all in the Prospect of an excellent Reward. And here, as the End, *viz.* the Glory of God, and the Good of Mankind, is the most trancendently Glorious, and the Means propos'd in order to accomplish it, are what do most become Christians in their several Stations, and according to their

several Abilities; so the Reward that will Crown all this, is here in my Text spoke to be such, as is not in the power of Words to express a greater. *They that are wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many to Righteousness as the Stars for ever and ever.*

And indeed, as of all other Sinners, those will be the most exquisitely punish'd, who shall any ways corrupt and deprave the Principles and Manners of Mankind: So of all the Righteous Servants of God, those will be exalted to the highest degrees of Glory, who shall be most industrious in the Instruction and Conversion of Men.

I say of all other Sinners, those will be the most exquisitely punish'd, who shall any ways corrupt and deprave the Principles and Manners of Mankind. Such as do sow ill Principles, and do any ways discourage and discountenance Piety and Vertue, are said to *put a Stumbling-block, and to be an Occasion to fall in their Brother's way,* Rom. xiv. 13. And *wo to that Man* (saith our Saviour) *by whom the*
(21) *Offence cometh: For whoso shall offend one of the meanest of those that believe in him, it were better for him that a Milstone were hanged about his Neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea,* Matt. xviii. 6, 7. And a most emphatical Threatning this is to all those wicked Instruments of *Unrighteousness* abroad in the World, who make it their Business, and seem to be intent upon this very thing. It is sad enough to have one self done or acted wickedly: But whosoever shall not only *break,* tho' it be *one of the least Commandments; but shall teach Men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven,* Matt. v. 19. that is, none at all: He shall be cast out of it, and punish'd as one of those who are the greatest Enemies to it. There is in the Words a vast deal more to be understood than is express'd, as is usual, both in the Sacred Writings, and in profane Authors; so that the Case of those Men is most dreadfully and desperately bad, who by profane, atheistical, and lewd Discourse, or whatever other *evil Com-*

munications do corrupt good Principles and *Manners*. But above all others, it is a dreadful thing to consider what will be the Doom of those Men, who by wicked Books, such as both *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Socinians*, and *Antinomians* do now, to the Re-
(22) proach of our Church and Nation, daily publish amongst us. It is dreadful, I say, to consider what will befall such in the End. What Evil of this Nature is done only by Discourse, is but transciently bad, and may ruine the Souls only of some few of their unfortunate Companions. But the wicked Principles which are propagated by Books are lasting Mischiefs, from whence, as from a *Pandora's* Box, fly out those Plagues and Mortal Diseases that can never be recall'd, and will spread Destruction and Ruine amongst the Souls of Men to the World's End.

And indeed it is hard to say, what Measures of Repentance may be sufficient for these Men. The Repentance they must come to, or be everlastingly and immeasurably Undone, must be such as comes not under the ordinary Definitions given that great Condition of our Salvation. It is not a private Grief and Sorrow, nor barely an Amendment for the future, will be sufficient to reconcile such to God. But as the Dishonours done to the Great Creator, by their means, are never likely to end, but with the World; so the Reparations to be made for these kind of Affronts and Injuries to Christ's Kingdom must be by a Recantation as publick and lasting as the Na-
(23) ture of the Offence is. And the exacting of such a Repentance as this, I must needs recommend to you, *my Brethren*, who are entring to-day into the *Ministry*, when-ever you are called to the Sick Bed of any notorious Atheist or Deist whatsoever. And this was the Resolution of a very eminent Bishop of our Church, in the Case of one of a considerable figure amongst them, after he had written his Book *de Veritate*. You are the Stewards of the Mysteries of God, so that you cannot, with Fidelity to your Great Master, dispence the Sacrament of Reconciliation to those, who have erected lasting Batteries against his Kingdom, till they themselves, by a like publick

Recantation, shall have pull'd them down with their own hands. So that you see the very Repentance of those, who shall *Turn many to Unrighteousness*, is a hard and fearful Dicipline. And what then? How much beyond the common Measures will the Punishment of those amongst them be, who shall remain Impenitent? And indeed it is but reasonable to believe, that the Case will be vastly different betwixt those who have only in their own Persons transgrest the Laws of God, and such who make a Party, and fight the Devil's Battels against Him. These Men must be supposed to be first at perfect Enmity with Him, and their whole Nature must be envenom'd against Him; and therefore it cannot be expected but that the *Fury of his Wrath*, and the very *Dregs of his Anger* will be poured out against such.

And now, if of all other Sinners those will be the most exquisitely punish'd, who shall any ways corrupt and deprave the Principles and Manners of Mankind; then, by parity of Reason, *of all the Righteous Servants of God, those will be exalted to the highest degrees of Glory, who shall be most industrious in the Instruction and Conversion of Men; or shall lay the Foundation of Christian Knowledge, or Contribute toward the Promoting of it.* For this we need no other Testimony than that remarkable place of St. *James* v. 20. *Know, that he which converteth a Sinner from the Error of his Ways, shall save a Soul from Death, and shall cover a Multitude of Sins.* These Words speak such a Regard to the Charitable Endeavours of those who do any ways promote, or do Labour in the Instruction and Conversion of Sinners, that through the Merits and Satisfaction of Christ, (by which only it is that God becomes propitious to our best Performances) this kind of Charity will be had in no mean Consideration when God shall take Cognizance of our Sins and Failures. And if the Converting of one Sinner shall be so consider'd, what Glories will await those who *Turn many to Righteousness?* I cannot possibly express them in any higher Words than those of my Text, in which alone

there is a force and lustre, like to the Rewards themselves which they bespeak.

And proportionably as the Assistances given to *Turn many to Righteousness* shall be most extensive and lasting; in the same measure we must suppose the degrees of Glory will be alotted to such Piety. And therefore, since, next to what the Apostles did by their personal Labours, and inspir'd Writings, to Convert Mankind to God, scarcely any thing can be thought of a more direct and immediate Tendency to the same Glorious and Blessed End, than to lay up those Magazines of Christian Knowledge on the Confines of Satan's Kingdom, out of which the Ministers of God's Word may be constantly supply'd, both with the Food of Souls, and with that Spiritual Armour wherewith they may carry on the War with Success, so as at length to drive that Arch-Rebel out of those vast Territories he now possesses: It will therefore follow, that those pious Persons will most effectually consult their future Happiness,
(26) and provide best for an Exalted Glory, who shall expend most in fixing Libraries of necessary and useful Books in Divinity, in order to the Instruction both of Minister and People. Such indeed cannot be said, by so doing, to hazard their Persons in the Converting of Mankind, and so may not be entitled thereby to the Reward of *Martyrs* and *Confessors*. But however, they may be much more instrumental in *Turning many to Righteousness*, even than those who actually labour in the Work it self; because that, in effect, it will be they who shall *Preach*, *Catechize*, and *Instruct* those Parts of the World, as well in future, as in the present Age. It is they will be the Fountain, we shall be only the Conduit-Pipes through which the Waters of Life will be convey'd to the People: And therefore, except we shall bestir our selves very much, they will far out-strip us in the Persuit of Eternal Glory.

In short, Those who shall make such a lasting Provision for the Instruction and Conversion of any considerable part of

Mankind, may, in so doing, be very well look'd upon as a sort of *Apostles* to those Parts of the World. And if so, we may conclude a great deal concerning the Degrees of Glory wherewith such shall be recompenc'd, from that Promise of our Saviour to his Apostles, *Matt.* xix. 28. *Verily, I say unto you, When the Son of Man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon Twelve Thrones, judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel:* For tho' we are not to conclude from these Words, that any besides the Twelve shall be exalted to the highest Degrees of Happiness, yet from hence we may clearly gather, that proportionably as Persons shall approach nearest to the Apostles in Evangelizing Mankind, they shall be placed nearer and nearer to them upon the several Ascents, to the highest Stations in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Not that I would lessen the Hopes of Glory to you, *my Brethren*, who shall labour in this Great and Glorious Work, of *Gaining Souls to God.* No, but rather give me leave, with the great Apostle to the Gentiles, *Rom.* xi. 13. *to magnifie to you your Office*, who are entring to-day upon the Sacred Ministry, and some of you in order to a Blessed Mission. And you have this Advantage of all other Professions of Men, that whereas others, by a due discharge of the Duties of their proper Calling, can only become Righteous themselves, you, in the due Exercise of your Ministry, will *Turn many to Righteousness:* So that whilst other Christians can expect only the common Rewards for well-doing, you may promise your selves, upon the Performance even of the ordinary Duties of your Function, to be extraordinarily recompenc'd. And the Reason is this, because the Good that you will do is doubly and trebly beneficial; for you will not only consult thereby your own Happiness, but will render your selves Benefactors to Mankind, and what is above all, will enlarge the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom.

I say you will render your selves Benefactors to Mankind. For why? the Religion you are to propagate and promote,

is of such a Nature and Tendency, that were it heartily embrac'd, the most Wild and Savage of Men would become Innocent, Kind, and Sociable to one another; they would not hurt nor destroy in all the Holy Mountain. And it is Prophecy'd, that this will be the Fruits of Christianity, when *the Earth shall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord*, Isai. xi. 9. And you will also, by a diligent Application to the Duties of your proper Calling, pull down the
(29) Kingdom of Satan, and enlarge the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom, or at least-wise encrease the Number of his faithful Subjects.

This will indeed engage you in great Conflicts with the Powers of Darkness; and the Difficulties and Oppositions they and their Agents, the wicked Men of the World, shall give you, will call forth all your Courage and Prudence to resist. But the greater are the Dangers and Difficulties, the more noble is the Vertue; and the greater the Vertue, the more glorious will be the Reward.

And therefore I cannot forbear to bless that Providence which calls both you and me into the Service of those darker parts of the Church, where we shall have occasion to do more Good than here we could be able, to contest with greater Difficulties, and thereby to entitle our selves to the chiefest Rewards. For as bad as it is to be Ambitious after Earthly Honours, it is nobly Vertuous, and Christian-like, an Emulation to excell in the Favour of God, and in those Stations of Glory which he will bestow upon such as shall exert themselves in his Service. And to be Instrumental *in bringing Light to them that sit in Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death*, whether we consider the Service, or the
(30) Recompence, has enough in it to satisfie the most pious Ambition.

To conclude therefore in the Words of St. *Paul*, I Tim. vi. 12. *Fight the good Fight of Faith*, that is, maintain and propagate the Gospel against all Opposition, and live according to it; *lay hold on Eternal Life*, nay, strive to excell in

those Achievements that shall entitle you to the chiefest Glories of it; for this is that *whereunto you are called*, and are now to *profess this good Profession* at an Holy Ordination *before many Witnesses.*

FINIS.

THE

NECESSITY

OF AN EARLY

RELIGION

BEING A

SERMON

Preach'd the *5th.* of *May* Before The

HONOURABLE

ASSEMBLY OF

MARYLAND

By *THOMAS BRAY* D. D.

ANNAPOLIS Printed by Order of the ASSEMBLY By *Tho. Reading*, For *Evan Jones* Book-seller, *Anno Domini* 1700.

100

May the *9th.* 1700.

ORDERED That Doctor BRAY be Returned Thanks for his Excellent SERMON on that Text, *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth* &c. And desire the same to be printed.

THO: SMITHSON SPEAKER.

(1)

A

SERMON,

PREACHED BEFORE THE

HONOURABLE

ASSEMBLY,

OF

MARYLAND.

May the *5th.* 1700.

Ecclesiiastes the XII. Verse the I.

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them.

THIS Book of *Ecclesiastes* was wrote by *Soloman* in his elder Years (as is supposed by most Interpreters) as a Recantation, and Penitential, after he had spent the youthful part of his days in the fullest enjoyments of the things of this life. This Person had the largest Soul, and greatest share of understanding that ever was given to the Sons of Men. And as he had Wisdom to find out, so he had Power answerable to his Wisdom, to procure whatsoever could be delightful, and pleasing in this World. And being thus furnished with Wisdom and Power, he accordingly set himself to enquire, what was that *Good* for the Sons of Men, whiat might make them happy. And then at length upon a full Experience of all that this World can afford us, to make

(2) us so, he gives us this testimony of it, that it is all but *vanity and vexation of spirit;* of a frail, empty, perishing and unsatisfying Nature; nay it is blended with much of sorrowful and vexatious mixtures, what—that this World can afford us. This he does in the six first *Chapters* to *Human Wisdom, Riches, Honours* and *Pleasures* the great things wherein most Men place their chiefest happyness. And then he proceeds, in the *six* last *Chapters* to let us know wherein our true and onely Felicity really does consist, and that he tells us is in this, that we *fear God, and keep his Commandments,* as that which will yield us solid Comfort and Satisfaction in this life, besides the joyful expectations it will give us in the next.

AND having done this he does then very affectionately address himself to young Persons in the words of my Text, that taking it upon his word and experience, the truth of what he had before said, as to the mere *vanity* of all Earthly Enjoyments, and the true satisfaction there is in the *fear of God;* they would not make it their whole business to pursue the empty Enjoyments of this World, which would certainly disappoint them; but betake themselves to an early Piety, so acceptable and well pleasing to their Maker, before Sickness and Old-Age force them, whether they will, or no, to make an unwilling, and a loathed Sacrifice of themselves to him. *Remember now* &c.

SO that these you see, are the kind Admonitions of a Charitable Person (who himself had once been sadly ship-wrack'd in a gulf of sensuality & filthyness, they are his kind warnings to you that are younger Persons, to avoid the like Errors; But to betake your selves seriously to the necessary business of Religion betimes, and to make it your first, and earliest choice; to engage your selves in Gods service in your more *youthful, healthier,* and *active days;* and not to defer this weighty Affair till you are sick, or are broken by the infirmities of Old Age, when it is hardly to be expected that He should at all accept of so heartless, and languid a Service, as we can then pay him.

Now *Solomon* tho a great King, yet being withal a *Preacher*, as he pleases to stile himself *Chap.* I. I. it might be seasonable for him at any time to give so necessary and so important Instruction, as this in my Text. But especially it became him, after so dear an experience, as his own had
(3) been, of the *vanities*, and follies of youth; particularly to apply himself to them. And the case is in some measure the like with us at this time.

THERE is nothing which is more incumbent upon the Ministers of Gods Church at all times, than to form the principles, and manners of youth, as may appear from that Emphatical Charge of our Saviours to St. *Peter John* 22. 15. and in him to all other the Apostles, and Ministers in his Church. *Feed my lambs.* But now at this time especially, we of the Clergy in this Province, have more than an ordinary Call to apply our selves particularly to this Duty.

FOR why? It is now that the Patriots of this Country are giving that Establishment by Law to Religion amongst them; and with that Unanimity, and general Consent, which shews that it is no indifferent thing to them, And this they do so nobly express, In such words, as indeed deserve to be written (both for the perpetual Honour of this Province, and for a Memorandum to us of the Clergy, to what purposes we are establish'd) in *Letters of Gold*, on *Pillars of Marble.*
IT is for this End they declare they do this glorious Work, that their CHILDREN AND POSTERITY BEING PRESERVED IN THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH, FROM FACTION AND SCHISM, IN HONESTY AND CHARITY, MAY BECOME GOOD AND SOBER MEN, LOVING VIRTUE, FLYING VICE, THE RATIONAL CONSEQUENCE OF TRUE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. And sure then, If for this reason principally a Clergy are to be here establish'd; to this work therefore it is in a more especial manner, that they are call'd to exert their Labours, as a most important part of their Ministry.

Well! I can venture here to promise for all those my Brethren, over whom I preside, that with these terms they

will heartily comply, and to answer those expectations every one of them shall make it his principal Care. And as the Call we have to this Duty is *extraordinary*, so the methods, which shall be taken, will be more than *common* to; so that not onely the Children shall be instructed in the Elements of Christianity, by learning their Catechism by heart; Together with some short explication of it; But the youth that are come up to years of Discretion, and who are
(4) therefore more capable to receive a more through knowledge in the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, and of their Covenant with [God] shall be taken care of by such a method of instruction in the way [of pecu]*liar Conference,* as will, I am perswaded, when try'd by them, be as well pleasing, as it will be found profitable to all of them.

BUT then the execution of this grand part of the Ministers Duty will be impossible for them without the concurrence of those committed to their charge, respectively. The persons to be thus Catechis'd and instructed are of two sorts, *Children*, and *grown Youth.* The former are uncapable of knowing the benefit of such instructions, so as to be induced of themselves to desire, or seek the means thereof; and those therefore must be brought, oblig'd, and if occasion shall be, must be ordered and made to come to be Catechised, by their respective Parents, and Masters, whose duty it is, with *Joshua*, to take care, *that they, and their house serve the Lord.* And I have great reason to hope that this charge will be duly performed by Parents and Masters throughout the Province, being the Chief persons in the several parts thereof, and whose example therefore will be sufficient to influence others, have so solemnly declar'd to the World, that the end wherefore they Establish Religion is, that their *Children* and *Posterity* may be train'd up in it.

THE great work will be to perswade *Youth of riper years* to yeild up themselves to the Tutelage, and Instruction of their respective Pastors, Since that Youth too commonly are vain, headstrong, and averse to serious Admonitions. But

besides that the methods which will be taken with them, shall be so free and familiar, as I dare say, would not be disagreeable to such as are most advanc'd in years; In order to prepare them to be more complyant with the perswasions therewith of their respective Pastors, I shall make it my present business to engage them especially to an early entertainment, and choice of Religion. In the management of which duty of theirs, I will endeavour by Gods Assistance, to do these two things.

1. *By way of explication I will shew them wherein the duty consists, and what it is to Remember our Creator.*

2. *By way of motive I will shew them how very advantagious it will be accordingly to Remember their Creator in the days of their youth; and on the other hand, how exceeding dangerous to defer it to the evil days, the days of sickness, or of old age; those days we our selves have no pleasure in.*

AND. first, let us consider the duty, what it is to Remember our Creator.

AND to *Remember our Creator* is of the number of those Scripture expressions, that do imply in the meaning of them, the whole Sum, and Substance of Religion. Thus to *know God*, to *believe in him*, to *fear him*, and *to love him*, do all of 'em import no less in Scripture many times, than to be entirely Religious; because that Knowledge, Faith, Fear, and Love are powerful, and active principles within us, influencing those who are possessed therewith, to be in the whole frame of their mind, and will, entirely Religious. And of the same nature is this expression also *Remember your Creator.* For,

1. To *Remember our Creator* does necessarily suppose a due knowledge of him, for that it is impossible to *remember*, or call to mind what we never had any knowledge of. Now Almighty God may be known by his Creatures both in his Nature and Attributes; and in his works of Creation, Providence, and of Grace; and in those excellent and gracious Laws which he has given to us to govern our Lives and Conversations in this World.

And in all these respects it ought to be the chief study of Mankind (whom above all inferiour Creatures he has made capable of such knowledge) thus to know him; especially it concerns Youth to furnish themselves with such knowledge of their Creator betimes, as it is ordered them, and as they are advised here in my Text. *Remember thy Creator, in the days of thy youth*, &c.

AND now if we would know him as to his Nature and Attributes, what other is he, than the supreme Governour of the World, whose knowledge reaches to all things past, present, and to come; which pierces into the most secret Councels and Contrivances of our Hearts; and takes our thoughts in their first motions, even before we our selves have found them, whose Wisdom has allways in its Eye the best Ends, and does often bring about his wise Purposes by means most improbable to our seemings! whose Goodness permits him not to slave his Creatures with
(6) rigorous, and unreasonable Impositions. (He commands, nor forces any to tear their Skins with their Nails, to cut their Flesh with their Knives, as the worshipers of *Baal* did. He is not so delighted with the reaking streams of Human Gore, that he would have us sacrifice our Sons, and Daughters to him) But his Commands are all Righteous, Just, and Reasonable; every way fittest for us as Rational Creatures to perform; and every way tending to perfect our Natures to the highest pitch of Happyness that Humanity can reach. As a Branch of his Goodness, we may justly add to his Patience, which we may with Amazement behold in the Repeated, Continu'd, and in the Numberless Provocations, Insolences, and Daring Wickednesses of a Profligate, Lewd and Atheistical World. But whose Justice we shall not onely see, but feel, feel in the utmost Severities and Strokes that long abus'd Mercies, that wearied, and tired Patience (tired with forbearing I mean) can lay on, If we will still remain Obstinate Rebels to his Laws. Not to speak of his Power, which is never wanting, to what his Will is to perform, or inflict.

Such is our *Creator* in his Nature, and Attributes; such he is in himself, and such he will more manifestly appear to us if we shall but meditate upon his *glorious Works* of *Creation, Providence,* and *Grace,* and *Consider those Excellent and Gracious Laws he has given us to govern our Lives and Conversations in this World.*

HIS *Creation!* and Good God! what astonishing Power was his! which, with one Word of his Mouth could call forth out of Nothing, the whole frame of Nature which we behold; this Earth which we now tread upon, and yonder Heavens also, which we hope ere long to mount into! And what depth of Wisdom was that, which amongst the Millions of Creatures that he has given Being to, has not made one thing for nought, but all to serve some good End; most of them at least serviceable to the use of Man, and he, to Serve and Glorify his Creator.

WHAT shall I say of his *Providence?* is not that Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, and every thing which preserves us in Being, which protects us from Dangers, which provides for our Necessities, and which in a Thousand Instances we see, is careful of us, and bountiful unto us!

IT would take up more than our present time will afford, should I attempt to display his Power, and Wisdom, his Goodness, and Justice, and all his Attributes as they were manifested in his works of Grace, in that Stupendous Business of Man's Redemption. Oh how did *Mercy and Truth here meet together, how did Righteousness and Peace here kiss each other!* Mercy! was ever Goodness like unto that, which passing by the fallen Race of Angels, should take us a desperately wicked, and Rebellious Generation into Favour again, on the reasonable conditions we would return to him! Righteousness! was ever Justice and Holyness so manifested, that nothing could attone for our sins less than the Blood of the Son of God! But there would be no end of our Meditations should we once launch out into that Ocean of his Love, and Goodness, as they were seen in the Redemption

of us. To hasten therefore to the consideration of them as they were seen in his *Government and Laws.*

AND sure Gratiousness, and Goodness were never known in any Governour, if not in God, who has not given us one Precept, but which either tends to the health of our Bodies, or the quiet of our Minds; to preserve Peace in societies, and Love in Neighbourhoods; and which does not some way or other tend both to perfect, and to render us like unto God here, and to make us happy with him hereafter.

AND so much for the first thing imply'd in this Duty, which is, to *Know our Creator.* To Remember our Creator does necessarily suppose a due knowledge of him; for that it is impossible to Remember, or call to mind what we never had any knowledge of. And what it is to know him, and the necessity of it, you have been now told.

II. AND having thus gaind a Competent Knowledge of our Creator, of his Nature and Attributes; especially as manifested in his works, and in his Laws; It may be easily gathered what it is to *Remember our Creator thus known.* And what else pray can it be, than always to have a Sense of him in our Hearts and Souls, to have a due Regard to him, to set him always before our Eyes as thus known; and so demean, and deport ourselves in reference to him, as is suitable to him, and is fit for us?

TO Remember a Person is not barely to call him to Mind,
(8) or to think of him, but it imply's something more. Scripture Expressions are *hearty* Expressions, and tho' they are sometimes such as literally signify some Act of the Mind, yet generally they imply an equal share of the Will and Affections. And indeed such is this Phrase to *Remember our Creator* in vulgar and common Acceptation. If I were bid to Remember a Person Understanding and Wise, that sees what I do, and were present with me, I should take it as a caution to act Circumspectly, and carefully in his presence. If I were bid to Remember a good and kind Friend, I should take it as a prompting of me to be grateful to him, and to return

him Love and Thankfulness for all his Kindnesses. If I were bid to Remember a severe and upright Judge, I should take it as a warning to live so honestly, and uprightly as not to come under the severity of his Justice. And Lastly, if to Remember one of great and uncontrowlable Power, as an Intimation not to offend him. And accordingly such must be the Importance of our Duty, and the Phrase expressing it, Remember thy Creator here in my Text. He being Infinite in Knowledge, what can it else imply but that we every where walk before him in Sincerity and Truth, as before one that seeth in secret? Being of unsearchable Wisdom, knowing both what is best for us, and what means are best to compass it, ten thousand times better than we can, what else can it mean, but that we entirely resign up ourselves to his disposals, and never murmur under any of his Dispensations? Being he is of abundant Goodness, Goodness that knows no bounds, but what his other Attributes necessarily give it; of such Goodness as to give us the best, and most easy Laws, to accept of such Obedience as we are able to pay him, and to recompence that little with Rewards so infinitely beyond the Merits of our Performances; whenwe are bid to Remember him, what else can it import, but that we love him to the intensest Degrees, and obey him with the exactest Observance, suitable Returns for such Love on his part? And Lastly, being of that unspotted Holyness that he cannot endure Sin, and of that inflexible Justice, that he will certainly punish it with the utmost degrees of Sorrow and Torture, if obstinately persisted in; what but that we with all imaginable Hast forsake our Sins, trembling least his Wrath should overtake us and we should be found in them?

(9) THIS is to Remember our Creator in reference to his Nature and Attributes. And so likwise in reference to his Works of Creation, Providence, and of Grace, and those Gracious and Excellent Laws he has given us. Since he hath made us, is the Author of our Being, and Well-being, and we

have nothing we can claim as our own, but live upon his Charity; to Remember him, what is it but that we live wholy to him, to his Honour, and Glory, and that we entirely serve him. Being he exercises a gracious Providence over us, Feeds and Maintains us, Cherishes and Preserves us, and we are beholden to him for all the Necessary's, Conveniencies, Accommodations, and Superfluities we enjoy: To Remember him, what is it, but that in subservience to his Providence, we only use an honest Diligence in our Respective Stations, and then without carking and thoughtfulness, as to the Event, refer the Success to him, resting contented, and satisfied, when matters fall not out according to our Designes, returning him our acknowledgments and thankfulness for whatever we have received? Being he has Redeemed us from the power of our Sins, and the Tyranny of Satan; from the former, by giving us of his Spirit to subdue our Lusts; from the latter, by paying down his own most precious Blood a Ransom for us; To Remember him, what is it, but to give up our selves to him as his purchas'd Possession, and to serve under his Banner against Sin and the Devil? And Lastly, being he as a most gracious Governour, has given us the most reasonable Laws; To Remember him, what is it, but that we render him a most chearful and willing Obedience to them.

THIS now is to Remember our Creator in reference to his Nature, his Works, and his Laws. And this brings me to my Second general Proposal, to shew you, *how advantagious it will be, accordingly to Remember your Creator in the days of your youth; and on the other hand, how exceeding dangerous to defer it to the evil day, the days of Sickness, or of old Age, those days we our selves have no pleasure in.*

AND First pray consider, how very advantagious it will be accordingly, as has been shew'd you, to Remember your Creator in the days of your youth. A Young Devotee is the choice Favorite of Heaven. We see it in the beloved
(10) Disciple *John*. He was a young Man, but being very Pious,

very Good, He was the Disciple who always lay in our Saviours Bosom, whom *Jesus loved. John* 13. 23.

AND he is the Favorite of Men too, He is his Parents Darling, the Hopes of his Family, the Admiration of all Men. A Regular, Pious, young Person, who hates a base Action, that injures no Man, would do good to all Men, breaks not his Parents Hearts by hearing of his lewd Pranks, his infamous Courses. He does not imbitter all the Comforts of their Life, so that the most plentiful Fortunes can afford them no Satisfaction: He does not cause 'em to wish with *Job*, that the *day would perish wherein such a Child was born, and the night in which it was said, there is a Man Child conceived.* He does not by his profuse prodigality, and riotous living dissipate those Fortunes, which his Ancestors Industry had got, and his Parents Care have preserved for him; but by his good Husbanding the Talent they have already given him, and the useful Employment thereof, to the doing good therewith to himself, and others, gives them to hope he will add to, not diminish from their Fortunes and Honour. Nor lastly, by his horrid Debaucheries does he make himself the Scorn and Contempt, the Hatred and Abhorrence of all that know him; but by his innocent, and useful Conversation, by his tender and merciful Disposition, is the Love and Admiration of all about him.

IT is certainly a most Lovely Object, a Young, Pious, and orderly Person, for as a great Man expresses it, "There "is a peculiar kind of Grace, and Loveliness in the worthy "and excellent Actions of Youth, early Habits of Vertue, "like new Cloaths upon a young and comely Body, fit very "gracefully upon a streight, and wellshap'd Mind, and do "mightily become it."

NOR do Men barely love, but admire an early Vertue. For whether it be that great things are not ordinarily expected from Persons at that Age, or whether from the scarcity of such happy Instances (especially in such an Age as this, wherein our Youth are distinguished by their Immodesty, Profaneness, Irreverence

to God and Men, from other Persons) whatever may be the cause; so it is, that all Men do pay a peculiar Veneration to a young Person full fraught with Wisdom, Ver-
(11) tue, and Goodness. Whose Understanding is well furnish'd with useful Knowledge, whose Lips do utter nothing but wise and sober Discourse, whose Appetites are under Command, whose Passions are calm, whose Affections are orderly, and to Crown all, who is active and zealous in doing Good, and suppressing Mischief. It is hardly to be expressed the Veneration and Esteem such an one does receive from all sorts of Men. *Job* does incomparably well represent it in his own case; I shall therefore give it in his own words, Chap. 29. *Oh that I was as in the months past*, Says he, *as in the days of my youth; when the secret of God was upon my Tabernacle, Then when I went out through the Gate, through the City, when I prepared my Seat in the Street; the young Men saw me, and hid themselves; And the aged arose, and stood up; the Princes refrained talking, and laid their hands on their mouths, the Nobles held their peace, and their Tongue cleaved to the Roof of their Mouth, when the Ear heard me then it Blessed me, and when the Eye saw me, it gave witness to me.* And wherefore all this? Why for his worthy Actions you will find, *Because I delivered the poor that cry'd, and the Fatherless, and he that had none to help him. The Blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the Widdows to sing for joy, I put on Righteousness and it clothed me, and Judgment was as a Robe and Diadem; I was Eyes to the blind, and Feet was I to the lame, I was a Father to the poor, and the Cause which I knew not, I searched out. And I brake the Jaws of the wicked, and pluck'd the spoil out of their Teeth. Then my glory was fresh in me, and my Bow was renewed in my hand. Unto me Men gave Ear, and waited, and kept silence at my Council; after my words they spake not again, and my speech drop'd upon them, and they waited for me as for the Rain. And they open'd their Mouth wide as for the latter Rain. If I laughed on them, they believed*

it not, and the light of my Countenance they cast not down. I chose out their Way, and sat Chief, and dwelt as a King in the Army, as one that comforteth the Mourners.

NOR are the worthy Deeds of a young Person more admir'd by others, than they are Laudable in themselves. For what a Glorious Scene is it to see a Youth besieged by powerful Temptations on every side, to acquit himself Bravely, and Resolutely to hold out against the most (12) violent Assaults: To behold one in the Pride, and Flower of his Age, that is Courted by Pleasures, and Honours, by the Devil, and all the bewitching Vanities of this World, to reject all these, and to cleave steadfastly to God: Nay to frown upon all these Temptations, and to look down upon them with Indignation and Scorn, and to say, let those dote upon these things who know no better: Let them adore Sensual Pleasures, and Lying Vanities, who are Ignorant of the sincere, and solid Satisfactions of Religion and Vertue: Let them run into the Arms of Temptations, who can forget God, their Creator, their Preserver, and the Guide of their Youth: As for me, I will serve the Lord, and will imploy my whole time either innocently, or usefully, in serving God, and in doing Good to Men, who are made after the Image of God. Believe me Christians, neither *Solomon* in all his Glory, nor the *Alexanders*, nor *Cæsars* in the midst of all their pompous Triumphs, were half so great as one of these; for if they had the Eyes, 'tis these have the Hearts of all beholders.

BUT alass! What is the Love, the Esteem, the Glory they receive from others, to the Silent but Sweet Applauses of their own Consciences? Those Happy Persons, who having prepossess'd their Minds betimes with those Principles of Goodness, which would never let them commit a base and unworthy Action, have never felt those venomous and painful Stings, those bitter and severe Remorses, which the wild, and unthinking Youth, have their perpetual Inmates on the account of those enormous Crimes, which their Lust and Revenge have instigated them to commit. It is not those

whose Heart is sorrowful in the midst of Laughter, whose *Countenance*, like *Belshazers*, even in the midst of their Revels, *Changes*, and whose Thoughts are troubled, so that the *Joynts of their Knees are loosed, and their Knees smite one against another;* and yet whose Ghastly Thoughts are so terrible to them alone, as to force them to that miserable Refuge of Company, and Excess, to silence the Clamours of their upbraiding Consciences, and to stupifie the Sense of their wounded Minds. What shall I say? It is not those that in the day time start aside from every one they meet, as a Constable, and in the night dream of nothing but Gibbets and Halters; that in the days of their Health,
(13) by their Oaths and Blasphemies, their Fornications and Adulteries, their Oppressions, and perhaps Murthers, are perpetually loading themselves with an intollerable weight of Guilt, and when the *evil day* cometh, when Sickness, and Adversities overtake them, have no Comforter they can fly unto. And who after all cannot but entertain those melancholy Suspitions, that there may be yet an *after Reckoning;* Those *Devils*, and that *Hell*, and that just God, who will adjudge 'em to both, out of the Belief of which they have all their Life, so vainly laboured to argue themselves. No, no, those happy Persons who have given to God the early possession of their Souls, are utter Strangers to those Gloomy Sorrows, those Hellish Miseries, that such Men do feel.

NAY, but on the contrary, these Early Beginners in Religion, as they have not half that struggling with Flesh and Blood, which Men once accustomed to evil Courses do feel, before they can master their Corrupt Inclinations; So when they have, for some time, habituated themselves to Vertuous, and Religious Performances; these ways seem at length so easy, so agreeable, so natural to them, that they cannot so much as think of, they abhor the very thoughts of doing an ill thing; So true it is, that he *who is born of God cannot sin, because he is born of God.* Nay but at length accordingly as they proceed from strength to strength, from one

degree of Grace to another, they arrive at length to such happy tempers, and have their Souls so exactly tun'd to Goodness, that they are unexpressible; the Satisfactions that such do feel in Religious Exercises, in Devotion, and doing good; So that with *David* they can say, *how sweet are thy words unto my tast, yea sweeter than hony to my mouth.* Psalm 119. 103. Such are the Advantages of *Remembring your Creator in the days of your youth.* It makes you the peculiar Favourites of God, it makes you the Darlings of Mankind withal, It procures you Love, and Esteem, and Honour amongst Men; and Lastly, it gives you a perpetual uninterrupted Peace and Pleasure in your own Minds.

BUT on the other side, it is hardly to be express'd, how exceeding dangerous it will be to defer this necessary work to the *Evil Day*, the Days of Sickness, or old Age, those
(14) Days we our selves have no Pleasure in. However it may appear in some measure (so far at least as to deter Youth from such fatal Delays) if they will please to consider.

1*st.* WHAT an intolerable Affront they offer to God, to Sacrifice the Choice of their Days to the service of the Devil; the World or their own Lusts; to think to put him off with the Refuse of their Time, the Years that themselves have no Pleasure in. 2*dly*, How extreamly difficult it will prove after a long, and accustomed Forgetfulness of their Maker, to recover any tolerable Sense of him: And 3*dly*, how utterly impossible it will be, by the ordinary methods of Grace (and Extraordinaries, of all Men such have least reason to expect) to Remember him to any purpose. And

I. Consider, what an intolerable Affront they offer to God, who Sacrifice the Choice of their Days, to the Service of the Devil, the World, and their own Lusts; and who think to put him off with the Refuse of their time, the Years that themselves have no Pleasure in.

AND indeed can any thing be more disparaging to God, than to think him so penurious of Friends, as to hold himself, and his Kingdom salable for the Refuse, and Reversion of

their Lives, who have Sacrificed the Principal part thereof to his Enemies, and their own Brutish Lusts, then onely ceasing to offend, when the Ability of offending is taken away from them? To think this, is doubtless unworthily to Esteem God a very cheap, and easy Master, that will be content, that may be put off with any thing. He did not appear so to the *Israelites*, He ordered *Deut.* 15. 19. *To sanctifie the Firstlings of their Flock unto the Lord their God, but if there were any Blemish therein, as if it were lame, or blind, he told them they should not Sacrifice it unto him.*

AND can any of us expect then, when we are grown old, and decrepit, in the service of our Lusts, and of Satan his Enemy; can we think so slight of God, that he will be glad to receive us then? Hear what *Malachi* Says. chap. 7. 8. *If ye offer the blind for Sacrifice, is it not evil, and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Governour, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy Person* Saith the Lord of Hosts. *Offer it to thy Governour?* What an intollerable Affront therefore is it to think to flatter the
(15) Majesty of Heaven, with what a mortal Man would scorn and despise? Nay, and I may add, consider whether you your selves would be so served. None of you would receive him as a Servant who is grown old, and useless, in the service of another Person. (You would sooner I am sure, turn off those who have spent their youthful Strength in your own Service) And now be you your selves Judges, whether it be not a Slight and Disparagement to God, very unworthy of him, to imagin that he will presently accept, as if he were oblig'd thereby, of a few, heartless and languishing Wishes, and Desires from us towards him, when we can serve his Enemies, Sin, the World, and the Devil no longer. But

II. This is not all, you had best further consider how extreamly difficult it will prove after a long accustom'd Forgetfulness of your Maker, to recover any tolerable Sense of him. All Men who consider any thing will readily own it, that it is a most vile Indignity (such as no Prince that

is a mere Man would endure) we do put upon God, when we thus undervalue him; and but that they willingly perswade themselves that he is infinitely Good, they could have no hopes of Mercy after it. But his Mercies they do easily perswade themselves are so abundantly great, that tho' their Provocations have been never so many, yet if they take Care in time to Repent of their Sins, and Return from their evil Ways, God will mercifully accept them, as if they had never sin'd. And we will not dispute the difference at present, that will be made in those Mens Cases, who from the very Beginning have faithfully serv'd God; and those who in the latter part of their Lives onely, after infinite Dishonours done him, do yield themselves at last obedient to him. We will grant that even those who after a long Custom of sinning, do at last abominate, and forsake their Sins, shall be Gods Favourites too; but the Question is, how they shall be able to hate, and forsake those Sins they have so infinitely serv'd, and so closely adhered to heretofore. This mighty Change from one contrary Disposition to another, is not so easy as these Men may imagine. There are many difficulties you will certainly meet with, both in your selves and others, which will extreamly much obstruct it.

(16) THAT which in our selves will obstruct it, will be the almost invincible Power of the contary Habit and Custom. To Root out of our Hearts those Customs of sinning, which we have been long used to, is in the Language of Scripture, *to pluck out our Right Eyes, and to cut off our Right Hands;* Such Habits become so interwoven into our very Natures, that they become part of our selves, which we cannot easily offer violence to. And therefore does the Prophet make it almost an impossible thing to alter an evil Custom of sinning. *Can the Etheopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots* &c.?

Besides it ought to be considered, that when Men do come to have a Conviction of the evil of Sin, and of the dismal Consequence of a continuance in it, and do make, to their own

seeming, most firm Resolutions to break off their Sins by Repentance, presently come in those Companions with them in Sin, and what by their Ridiculing of all Piety and Vertue, and what by the Scorns and Reproaches they with all the Witt that *Satan* can inspire them shall be cast upon Religion, they will at first stagger those former Resolutions, and at last utterly overturn them; insomuch that we many times see these sick-bed Penitents in their Relapses become *ten times more the Children of Hell than they were before.*

AND now, how shall such inveterate Habits of sinning, strengthened by the fallacious Sophistry of vile Wretches, be ever broken? By your own power you cannot do it, for that you found too weak at first, And Gods Grace you cannot well expect, for his Holy Spirit was so long Resisted, till it was quite withdrawn.

III. AND this is another Consideration which may well deter Youth from deferring till the latter Days the great Business of Religion, *viz.* how utterly impossible it will be by ordinary Methods of Grace, (and extraordinaries such of all Men have the least reason to expect) to Remember him to any purpose.

AND yet this is the last Refuge of forlorn Sinners, and of such as Resolve upon taking their youthful Liberties. They think that God will violently interpose, and will save them whether they will or no. But how many Millions are mistaken, and never open their Eyes to see their mistake, till awakened by the Flames of Hell? How many are overtaken suddainly in the midst of their Sins, dying either in a Fever
(17) that takes away their Understandings, or an Apoplexy that deprives them in a Minute of their Sense? How many in a Duel, and how many in a fit of Drunkeness? No! it is not to be expected that when the various Talents of Gods Grace have been long abus'd, that he should still continue them to us. He promises indeed to those that have, or make use of the Talents they have, that more shall be given; But he does assuredly threaten, that from those who have not,

shall be taken away, even that which they have. And so God knows it often happens, that the Divine Patience is at length so worn out, that his Grace is wholly withdrawn from some Men; and they are given up to a Reprobate Sense as irrecoverably lost, and have in Effect the dreadful Sentence upon them, even before they go out of this World.

BUT do we not sometimes see Men Recover at last, by a Miracle of Grace? It is true, but as Miracles are very rare, and are never wrought but upon extraordinary Occasions, so are these Mens Conversion. It was to serve some Grand Purposes in the wise Government of the World, and must not ordinarily be depended upon. And pray by what extraordinary Methods of Grace is it we do sometimes see old, *inveterate* Sinners Recovered to a Sight and Sense of their Sins? Why by some terrible Blow to them in their Persons, or Families; by some dismal Calamities, and Losses in their Estates, or perhaps by some amazing Stroaks of Conscience. And is this adviseable to put thy self into such a State, that the way to bring thee out of it, is to make thee a most miserable Creature? Can this be a Hopes to be depended upon, by one that values not a Course of Sin, but for the Pleasures of it? How contradictious are the Reasonings of such Men, who indulge themselves in a Course of Sin in their youthful Days, in hopes hereafter to be brought to a better Sense of it. The Sense they must hope to be brought to, will be but little differing from the Pangs of the Damn'd; the better way therefore will be by a timely Religion which has no Remorses following it, to prevent the ne-
(18) cessity of such a sorrowful, and terrible Repentance, as will be requisite in such a Case.

AND now my dearly beloved Youth, let me beseech you in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, seriously to consider, and lay to Heart what I have now told you. Let me intreat you as you would not cast the vilest, the most provoking Contempt in the World upon your Maker, by preferring your foolish Lusts before him; as you would not render it extreamly

difficult hereafter to Remember him; as you would not render it impossible for you without such Methods of Grace, as you of all Men would have least Reason to expect, as you would have little Reason to desire; on the other hand; as you would do the most pleasing, and acceptable thing to God; as you would acquaint your selves with the Sweets of an early Piety; as you would ever Resist the unutterable Consolations of a timely Religion: Nay, and let me add; as you would render your selves the Joy of your Parents, the Darling of your Country, the Hopes, the Eager Expectations of the next Age; let me request you, let me conjure you, to *Remember your Creator in the days of your youth.*

TO Remember him! How I pray you? Why as I told you before; study to know him in his Nature and Attributes, in his works of Creation, Providence, and of Grace, and in those Excellent and Glorious Laws he has given us. And then forget not, neglect not to present him often to your Thoughts, as thus known. *Remember him* as a discerner of the Thoughts and Intents of your Hearts, and let this chase away thence all impure, and unchast Thoughts, all unrighteous, and revengeful Thoughts, all impious and ungodly Thoughts, that they have not the least entertainment there. Remember him as now sitting in Heaven, and Registering up in a Book all your Words; and let this restrain the Exorbitances of an evil Tongue; so that henceforth you may suffer no Oaths, nor Curses; no Lies nor Slanders: no censuring, nor evil speaking, no Calumnies nor Detractions to be utter'd thence. Remember him next as a Holy and Righteous Judge that Eternally hates Sin and will infallibly
(19) punish it, if not Repented of: And let this put a stop to all Acts of Immodesty and Intemperance, of Softness and Luxury, to all Acts of Wrong and Injury, Revenge and Cruelty, Contention and Strife, and lastly, to all Acts of Profaneness and Impiety. Lastly, Remember him as an infinitely good and gracious Governour that will Recompence all your pains, and watchfulness, and diligence in serving

him, with Rewards ten thousand times beyond the merits of your deservings, and let this make you humble and self-denying, just and charitable, and peaceable; pious and devout, and resign'd; zealous Lovers of God, and constant Frequenters of his Worship, both in Prayers and Sacraments.

AND what good now is it that impedes this our Remembrance of our Creator? What but a dangerous World, which if we love to the neglect of better things, The love of the Father is not in us? What but a foolish transitory World, which believe me my Friends; nay believe not me but *Solomon*, who had the fullest experience of all it can afford us, and yet pronounces concerning it, *that it is all vanity, and vexation of spirit.*

Vain it is, for that it neither does, nor can perform what we expect from it; Vain, for that it promiseth satisfaction, but leaves us nothing but disapointment; Vain, for that a single Cross will imbitter all its Comforts; Vain, for that the longer we enjoy any Worldly Goods the more flat and insipid do they grow upon us; and Vain, in that its highest Enjoyments are inconstant and fickle. And as Vain, so Vexatious, for that its Crosses do generally exceed its Pleasures. And lastly, Vain, and Vexatious both, for that it can stand us in no stead at the hour of death, and the day of judgment, when we have the greatest need of Support and Comfort.

AT the hour of Death what support for Men to Remember their foul Frauds, their Revengeful Quarels, their intemperate Riots, their lewd Companions, their profane Jests! At the day of Judgment, what Comfort to see the Books open'd, the sorrowful Remembrancer of all these?

BUT when you come to die, the Reflections that from your Youth upwards you have *Remembered your Creator*, this to Admiration will support and comfort you both. It will mitigate your Pains under the Tortures of the Stone, it will Refresh your Spirits in the flames of a Fever.

BUT this is not half; It will help you to look Death in the Face boldly; It will help you to welcome the stalking

Monster; It will fill your Hearts with Joys unutterable; Joys that will almost burst your Earthen Vessels; Joys that are pure and Spiritual, Joys that are the Antepasts of Heaven; *Joys such as Eye has not seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath ever entered our Hearts to conceive.*

NOR is this yet the thousandth part of the Benefit, the early Remembrance of your Creator will moreover yield you: When in the great and terrible Day of the Lord, the Son of God shall appear from Heaven with an *Euge Bone Serve*, with a *Come ye Good and Faithful Servants, Enter into the Kingdom prepared for you;* you shall immediately in Reward for such your early Remembrance, be translated into *God's Presence where there is fulness of Joy, and be placed on his Right Hand, where there is Pleasures for evermore.*

FINIS.

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SEVERAL

Circular Letters

TO THE

CLERGY

of

MARY-LAND,

Subsequent to their late

VISITATION,

To enforce such

Resolutions as were taken therein.

By THOMAS BRAY, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed by *William Downing* in *Bartholomew-Close* near *West-Smithfield*, 1701.

(1) A

Circular Letter

To the Clergy of Maryland, *Enforcing the Duty, and by an easie Method, accompanied with a suitable Provision of Books, facilitating to them the Fundamental Work of Catechising.*

Reverend Brethren,

I Cannot without the greatest Esteem of, and Affection towards you, reflect upon the good Order of your Conferences, and the Unanimity with which you concurr'd to those Pious Resolutions that were made at your late Visitation: And so happy a beginning gives me good Grounds to hope the best things from you. The truth of it is, when I sit down and consider the several particular Methods of *Ministerial Instruction*, which you did then so chearfully come into, I am not able, upon the most mature Deliberation, to conceive, what can be wanting on your Parts, to render the People committed to your Charge, fully Edify'd in all things necessary to Salvation, but putting the Measures then Resolv'd upon vigorously into Execution, both as to *Catechizing, Preaching*, and *Private Exhortation* and *Admonition*.

Now, the first of your Resolutions refers to *Catechizing*, a part of your Ministry so exceedingly necessary in the *Church of Christ*, especially in an age so loose in its *Principles* as ours is, that enough cannot be said to inculcate that matter upon you. But I forbear here, having so largely spoken to it in my *Visitation Charge:* However, There is one consideration of such peculiar force to your selves in *Maryland*, that I must needs remind you thereof, to invigorate you in that Work, tho' I know the words themselves were so Emphatical, and the occasion of them must

be so fresh in your Mind, that it will not be easie for you to forget them.

And was it so, that but a few Months ago, the whole Province were in that *Consternation*, on the account of their *Religion*, as did far exceed our Expectation? And did the *Patriots* of your *Country*, under such difficulties and discouragements, as I forbear to Name, renew its Establishment, and that too with such an *Unanimity* and *general Consent*, as shews it is no indifferent thing to them? And wherefore was it, that notwithstanding all, they would re-establish our Church, and provide for its Clergy amongst them? For this end they declare they did this glorious Work, THAT THEIR CHILDREN AND POSTERITY BEING PRESERVED IN THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH, FROM FACTION AND SCHISM, IN HONESTY AND CHARITY, MIGHT BECOME GOOD AND SOBER MEN, LOVING VERTUE, HATING VICE, THE RATIONAL CONSEQUENCE OF TRUE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. Words surely that deserve to be written
(2) (both for the perpetual Honour of the Province, and for a Memorandum to you of the Clergy, to what purpose you are continued) In LETTERS of GOLD on PILLARS of MARBLE. It evidently appears hence, That the *Christian Education* of their *Youth*, is what those *Patriots* do chiefly expect from you. And surely then, if for this Reason principally, a Clergy have been there re-establish'd, so far as lies in their Power: In this Work therefore it is, That in a more especial manner, you are call'd to exert your Labours, as a most important part of your Ministry among them. And you are to conclude from hence, That you (of all the Clergy in the King's Dominions) have a more than ordinary Call to apply your selves particularly thereunto.

And to me it portends, that you will do something to purpose in this Grand part of your Ministry, that you have divided the *Catechumens* into several *Forms* and *Classes*, lower and higher, agreeable to their Improvements, and

their Years respectively. This is the Method of all Schools, in order to have their Scholars attain to Humane Learning; and this would be our Method in training up Youth to a thorough Understanding of the Christian Doctrine, were we half so zealous to have our Disciples become perfect Christians, as the generality are desirous to have them accomplish'd Scholars. In this latter Case Parents can be contented to have their Children Conn the Elements of Grammar with incredible torture of Mind, for several Years together, tho' for a long time with very little or no Understanding of those Rules, which, Parrot like, they can run over by rote. And when with repeated Explications their Minds begin to open, so as to apprehend in some measure the Meaning thereof, yet near a third part of Life is spent before any do arrive to a competent measure of real Knowledge. And how studious are Masters and Tutors to excel each other in bringing on the Youth whom they have undertaken to Instruct, through several *Forms* and *Classes*, till they shall go out of their Hands with the Character of good Scholars? And why now are not the like Pains taken by Youth, and the like Methods by the Ministers of Religion, to perfect them in the *Knowledge of Jesus Christ, and Him Crucify'd?* a Knowledge so Excellent in it self, that the Great and Learned St. *Paul determined not to know any thing else* save that, or in comparison with it; for in comparison with that, all besides was but Loss with him, *Phil.* 3. 8.

It is sorely to be feared, that we have much lower Sentiments of these Matters than we ought, or else we should be earnest, to the utmost Degrees of Importunity, with all Parents, to put their Children under such a Discipline as shall be necessary to acquire the Knowledge of these, the most important things. But I beseech you let this be no matter of Complaint against you. First possess your own Minds, and then the Peoples, that nothing in the whole World is of such consequence to them as the Knowledge of Christianity in those its *main*, its *Characteristick*, its *primo-*

Essential Principles concerning the Nature, and Offices of *Jesus Christ*, his Redemption of, and Mediation for us; since this we are assured is *Life Eternal*, thus *to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, Joh.* 17. 3. And since for this the Apostle did not cease to pray for his *Colossians, Col.* 1. 9, 10. and that they should be FILLED *with the Knowledge of God's Will in all Wisdom and Spiritual Understanding.* Let them know, that to furnish them with such Knowledge is the very End of your Ministry; That *God gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the Edifying of the Body of Christ; till they all come in the Unity of* THE
(3) FAITH, AND OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SON OF GOD, *unto a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ. That henceforth they be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by the slight of Men, and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive,* Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, 14. And finally, let them know, that the Way to arrive to a *perfect Man,* or to a Manly sense of things, and to a *full Stature* in Christian Knowledge, is to begin with the Principles of Religion, and then *leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, to go on to Perfection,* Heb. 6. 1.

And when you have done what lies in you to possess the Peoples Minds with the Necessity of attaining to a full and perfect Understanding of the Way of their Salvation; then be sure, that for your own Parts you spare no Pains with them, and decline not those Methods, which are most proper to instruct them accordingly. Begin as with Scholars, in Teaching, or Hearing them repeat to you the Church Catechism, which contains the *Principles of the Doctrine of Christ.* Proceed next to make them get by heart some Exposition of the same, which is, to *go on towards Perfection* with them. And leave them not to themselves, till their Judgments shall be so ripen'd, as to be able in Words of their own, and not merely

in Terms, which they have learnt by Rote from others, to *give a Reason of the Faith that is in them.*

And to this purpose range all the *Children* and *Youth* of your Parishes, just as you would *Scholars*, into several Forms, agreeable to their several Improvements, and difference of Age. And this I do the more insist upon, because I am fully perswaded, that nothing does more obstruct and discourage both *Children*, and *Youth* from yielding themselves up to a thorough Discipline till they become *perfect* in the Knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, than a mixing the elder Youth with the meerest Children in the common ways of Catechising. It *Obstructs* the Childrens Progress, so as to make them think they have attained sufficiently, when they can barely recite by heart the Words of their Catechism, that they see the *grown Youth* of their Parish call'd out to do no more. And on the other side, it *Discourages* the *Youth* from yielding themselves to be Catechized, that they are accompanied with Children, which, as they apprehend, is a Disparagement to them. And both seeing that there is no progressive Motion, no *going on from Strength to Strength*, from one degree of Knowledge to another, are taught to think there is little in it, and utterly to slight *Catechising*.

But I need not insist, for indeed the *Catechetical* part digested by you, so much to my Satisfaction, that if you shall Marshal all the *Youth* within your respective Cures into those *Three Classes*, as was done by you in your late Visitation, and shall *Catechize* them accordingly, I shall then hope very soon to see the Children and Youth in *America*, as far exceed many amongst us here, as the Children of the poor *Vaudois*, which *Thuanus* speaks of, *Lib.* 27. do those in the Wealthier parts of the Christian World. And the *Religious Education* of *Youth* being a part of your *Duty* of such infinite consequence, as well to the Planting of *Christianity* with you, as the *Restauration* of it here now almost expiring amongst us, I conjure you by all that Love which the *Son of God* bore to the *Sons of Men*, when he descended from Heaven to teach and en-

lighten the ignorant and benighted World, and which Love he particularly expressed to such tender Ones; I conjure you by all this, to *Feed those Lambs.*

(4) And that there may be no impossibility, incapacity, or any want of Means urg'd in excuse for any ones Omission in that part, I have provided you with such a quantity of Books adapted to those several Degrees of *Catechumens*, as will supply all the poorer Children, at leastwise, in your respective Cures; and will also take care of even those of better Condition, should their Parents be so Barbarous as to deny to provide them with necessary Books, rather than they shall want *Catechetical Instruction.*

For this I have found by Experience, even here at home, where any Expositions which may be thought necessary, are near at hand in comparison, being to be bought at the next Market Town; yet such is the indifference of Mankind to that which is good, that few or none will be at the Pains, no more than the Cost, to send for them. But if bought to their Hands, ☞ (and I could wish, that such as are of Ability in each Neighbourhood, or the Richer *Landlords*, in respect of their Tenants, would furnish each Parish with such Catechetical Sets of Books for the Use of the Children and Youth now growing up; for, I say, if such Books were either Bought to their Hands) or lodg'd with the Parish Clerk, of whom they might purchase them at an easie Rate, the Matter will be brought too home to them, for 'em easily to refuse to comply with the Ministers Entreaties to give themselves up to be Catechized. Now, the want of Books would be much more a matter of Excuse for both the Children and Youth in your Parts, where there are neither *Book-sellers* nor *Market-Towns;* and to take all manner of Excuse away, and to render so very necessary a Work, as *Catechetical Instruction*, to all the degrees of Easiness, practicable both to the *Catechist*, and the *Catechumens*, the Books themselves are provided both for you, and them, as is now said.

For the *first Class*, you have the *Church Catechism, with a Form of Morning and Evening Prayer for Children: Also,*

a Grace before and after Meat. Together with some select Scriptures, declaring to Children and Servants, their Duty to Pastors, Parents, and Masters. And of these I would have you give one to all the Poorer Families, and to Servants Quarters within your respective Cures, where there are Children; and to recommend it to the Wealthier Parents to buy for theirs. And after this, let it be your care to have the Children frequently call'd upon to repeat their *Catechism*, and recite their *Prayers* and *Scriptures*. Let this, I say, be done, either by your selves, when you shall visit those Familles, or by others, whom you shall intrust to call them thus to account in your stead. And as you cannot think of such proper Persons for this purpose, as the Members of the *Religious Society* or superior *Class of Catechumens* within your Parishes, whom you will find very serviceable to you in this, and many other good Offices within your Cures: So indeed, this part must be perform'd chiefly by some trusty Deputies, it being equally impossible, either that such small Children should be brought so many Miles to Church to be *Catechiz'd*, or that you should be continually visiting them at their Houses for that purpose, for which more than your whole time would be insufficient in such dilated Cures. And it may suffice, that you do this in Person only, when either a *Baptism*, or the *Visitation of the Sick*, or a *Funeral*, or any other occasion shall draw you out into any quarter of your Parishes. Where a competion between the several Duties of your *Pastoral Office* is such, that your time will be devoured by any one of them, to the Omission of others equally necessary, if you should give your selves up wholly to that, there is a necessity so far to dispense with the *Personal Execution* thereof, as to reserve a share for other parts of your *Function:* And this I know is too much your Case.

(5) The *Second Class* of *Catechumens* you have judiciously appointed to consist of Children between *Nine* and *Thirteen;* not that you are to tye up your selves so nicely between such *Periods*, that a Child either under the one, or beyond the

other, is always to be excluded that Institution which you judge most proper for such as are within that Compass: But because it is to be expected, that as well *Christian Children*, as those of the *Jews*, should by that time be able to give some Account or *Reason of the faith that is in them.* And it is of the greatest use to fix designs to certain *Periods*, which will cause such Expectations, that (generally speaking) things will answer within those terms. And as you have *Resolved*, with respect to this Rank of *Catechumens*, to have them Learn by heart some Exposition with *Scripture Proofs*, so I have accordingly sent you a sufficient number of that Kind.

This Book is divided into four Parts, and subdivided into Fifty Two Lessons, one for every Sunday in the Year; in which are explained the peculiar Terms in Divinity; and in which are given the Elements of Christian Knowledge, both in the general Doctrine, and particular Articles of the Covenant of Grace. And it is in this manner, I think, that your *Catechism* ought to be Expounded to young Children. For first, as to the terms in Divinity, *Theology* as well as all other *Sciences*, has some peculiar Expressions, which till understood, render any Discourse on Subjects of that Nature utterly unintelligible to either Hearers or Readers; and therefore the peculiar acceptations of such words, so often occurring in our Discourses of Religion, must be first Explain'd to the Youth, as we would have them be ever Edify'd from the *Desk*, or from the *Pulpit.* And such *Expositions* ought also to be so contrived, as to give the *Catechumens* a view of the Nature, Terms, and Conditions of their *Covenant with*
(6) *God*, for *Christianity* is no other than such a *Covenant.* And the whole Texture of our *Church Catechism* is, according to the *Analytical* and best *Method*, both a general and particular Instruction in that matter.

The *Third Class* of *Catechumens*, you would have to consist of *Youth* grown up to some Years, and these you are for treating with in a manner something more Manly than the meer Children of Thirteen. You would not oblige them to

get an *Exposition* by heart, but would recommend to them some proper Book to *Read;* but yet to read so attentively, and with such application of Mind, as to be so much Masters of its Sense, that in Conference and Discourse with you upon those Subjects, they might be able to give you Reason to conclude they understood what they have Read. And indeed, hereby you will both lead them to Exercise their own Judgments, a thing of singular use to them, and will also Treat them in such a manner (tho' it be in effect still but *Catechising*) as none will think themselves above.

And it is more over very judiciously *Resolved* by you, to advise them more particularly to read such a Book or Books, as shall more fully instruct them in the Nature, Terms, and Conditions of the *Covenant of Grace.* To understand and comprehend which throughly, is to know the whole Tenor of *Christianity,* and which, except it be conceived under such a *Scheme,* cannot (in my opinion) be so rightly and clearly apprehended. Besides, these your *Catechetical Conferences* with them are primarily design'd to prepare them with proper Knowledge, that if *Adult,* and not yet *Baptized* (of which there are so many in the *Plantations*) they may be lifted to God in *Baptism;* or if they have been already *Baptized,* that they may ratifie their *Baptismal Covenant* with God in the *Lord's Supper.* And therefore some more enlarged Discourse upon the Nature, Terms, and Conditions of their *Covenant with God,* such as shall farther explain, what through shortness might be left obscure in the former, must, I humbly conceive, be the most proper Book which at first you can recommend to them: And then other Discourses on *Faith,* or a *good Life,* such as you will find in the *Layman's Library,* when that former is fully imbib'd, may with greater advantage be propos'd afterwards. Well, I think it my Duty to furnish here also, such of your Disciples, at least, as cannot provide themselves; and therefore give you Commission to take of Mr. *Jones* at *Annopolis,* as many of the

Short Discourses upon the Baptismal Covenant, as you shall want for the poorer Youth, both Children and Servants.

And I order one Volume, of the *Catechetick Lectures* at large for the use of your selves, as well as them, in each Class respectively. The *short Discourses* are to be Read by them, and an Account thereof rendered to you: After which, a *Lecture* at large may be Read to them by your selves, as a more full Explanation of that whole matter than the former.

But why? you will say, the *Doctrine* of the *Covenant* so often Repeated? That according to this, through all the Degrees of *Catechumens*, there is no other difference in their Institution, than the very same things Taught, first in a short, and then afterwards with a more enlarg'd and copious Explanation. To which I answer, that truly I shall desire my *Plantation Disciples* may never understand the *Doctrine* of *Christianity* otherwise, than as a *Covenant of Grace*. And then as for their being Instructed in the same things first more generally, and afterwards more express and distinctly. This is like drawing at first the outward lines of a Picture, and filling it up afterwards with all the particular Lineaments and Features. And the like Method will, I hope, make here as compleat a Mind within, as the other an outward Visage. And it will indeed, in my apprehension, improve the Mind in Divine Knowledge, with an exact proportion to the growth of the natural Understanding; to have, as the *Exposition* explain the *Catechism*, so the *short Discourse* on the *Baptismal Covenant*, the *Exposition*, and the *Course of Lectures* explicate both. And I humbly conceive several distinct *Expositions* in a quite different *Scheme*, would rather confound than clear their apprehensions of *Divine Truths;* just as we observe in Schools, the often shifting of Boys from one School to another seldom makes any great Proficiency; whilst in keeping the Child to one, though a worse, he shall make some tolerable advance in Learning. The reason is, every new Method does little more than Erase out of the Mind what was imprest in the foregoing, but a gradual

Progress from one Degree of Knowledge to another, according to any one Series, will create a full and clear apprehension of things. So that, if as I have elsewhere said, you shall your selves deliver to the *Catechumens* an *Exposition* more expatiated and large on the Point on which they have been Reading before, but to the very same purpose, only more copiously explaining the *Doctrine*, this will let yet a clearer Light into their understanding of these *Divine Truths*. And by this way of giving them *Line upon Line, and Precept upon Precept*, they will at length arrive to a full comprehension of that which is indeed the whole *Doctrine of Salvation*, the *Covenant of Grace*.

But the greatest difficulty will be to bring the *Youth* to meet you to these Purposes, which is so much their greatest Good, that nothing in the World is of that Consequence to them. And therefore, because that *Youth*, when once they advance towards the State of *Manhood*, will soon outgrow your *Tuition*, it is necessary that you begin with them first.

(7) And, I beseech you, with all Expedition, to form out of such amongst them in your Parishes respectively, as are grown up to Years of Discretion, a *Class* or *Society* of *Catechumens*, whom I would have you to Instruct, and Direct, according to the Methods which you will find I have laid down at large in the *Preface to my Discourse on the Baptismal Covenant*, the Book they are to Read, Digest, and give you an Account of, to which I refer you. I call these your Young Disciples, indifferently, a *Religious Society*, or a *Class of Catechumens*. But since too many have such groundless Prejudices, (and it is indeed an amazing thing to consider, how far some pitiful Prejudices do, in many Cases, pervert the Minds of many wise and good Men from approving, or countenancing the best Designs) I say, since many are prejudiced against the word *Societies*, add thereto the word *Catechetical*, being the Ancient Term of the *Church* of *Christ*, to signifie the Meetings of these your Disciples, and I know not then how any can except

against them; for I am sure no good Man can gain-say, or oppose the *Thing*. For,

FIRST, It is most indespensably your Duty to call Young People together, and to give them proper and suitable Instructions, their Youthful Years being the very Critical time of engaging them firmly to God; for if left to themselves at that Age, it is very great odds, but their natural Propensity to Evil, which is then in the Highth, and the Allurements of bad Company, which are then most Engaging, will first enter them, and afterwards bind them close in the Service of the *Devil*, the *World*, and the *Flesh*. And let any of you, as you are the Ministers of Christ, and will answer it at the dreadful Tribunal, take heed how you let them alone then to themselves to become the Slaves of Satan.

SECONDLY, It is highly expedient, that you should, for their better Conduct, put them under some *prudential Rules*. And I do recommend to you, for that purpose, those which you will find in the *Short View of the Religious Societies in and about London*, herewith sent you, wherein you will see, that those here in *England* have form'd to themselves such Rules as deserve our highest Approbation: And, with some little Alterations, agreeable to the Circumstances of your parts, you may regulate the matter with reference to the *Catechetical Societies* (for such the *Religious Societies* ought all to be, more especially) with you in the *Plantations*.

THIRDLY, I do assert, That every Parochial Minister ought to be often present with them at their Meetings, to Instruct, and to direct them what they are to read; to examine them, in order to know their Improvements, to take care they do not warp toward Error or Schism, and to prevent Seducers from coming amongst them.

The Danger of the two latter, I know is all that those who are the most prejudic'd, have to suggest against such *Societies of Youth*. But whose fault is it, if their Clergy

come not near them, tho' it should be so, that they either warp of themselves, or are seduc'd by others of a contrary Perswasion?

Nay, why then, with greater Reason, should not every *Parochial Minister* be always present with, and preside at their Religious Conferences? This, My Reverend Brethren, I do conjure you to do; and as I lay my Heart upon no one thing so much, as your forming these *Catechetical Societies* within your respective Cures, as the only means to train up a better Generation, than the wretched one now in being; so having found the extent
(8) of your Parishes to be vastly too large to have all such Youth meet you at one Place, whether at the Church, or elsewhere, I desire you to quarter out your larger Parishes into as many Districts as you shall find necessary for their convenient Meeting together, and to appoint so many several Days and Places for 'em to meet you (every Sunday in the Afternoon at Church, being always one of your Days and Places;) and this, if you shall do, tho' I have seem'd in the following Catalogue to provide only Books for one, or two *Classes* in each of your Parishes, yet you shall not want the like Number of Books for as many *Catechetical Societies* as you shall be able to raise. And the Good God, to the Terror of Satan, and all his Adherents, succeed you in these your Labours, and Endeavours.

To Second you in which, I have sent you a *Pastoral Letter, perswading Youth both to an early Entertainment of Religion; and, in order to that, to put themselves under the Conduct of their respective Ministers.* And as I would have you to give these Letters into the Hands of the most serious Youth in your Parishes; and such as are likeliest to be influenc'd by them, in order to form them into such a *Class* or *Society of Catechumens;* so I beseech you to apply to them to this purpose by these Letters, with all possible Expedition, least that any one of these poor Souls, for want of your securing him to God betimes, be pre-engaged to the *Powers of Darkness.*

And because I am absolutely of your Opinion, that could you procure some skilful Person in the Country, to teach your *Catechumens* to sing the Psalms Artificially, as set to the most approved Tunes (and Mr. *N.*—*S.* and Mr. *T.*—*P.*[40] being both skilful in Church-Musick, will soon train up one or two Masters for the purpose) the Entertainments of *Psalmody*, especially according to the *Latter Versions*, would wonderfully invite the Young People both to enter into a *Catechetical Society*, and would charm them into a constant attendance on it: I would therefore have you make it part of your Business at those Meetings of the Youth, to have them first taught to Sing by Note, and then afterwards, I would have you both open, and close up your *Catechetical Conferences* with a Psalm. This is, with St. *Paul, to Catch them by Guile;* and I am sure will be an *innocent* and *unsinful pious Fraud.* And as for the Psalms themselves, you have a sufficient *Delectus* for your purpose to begin with, at the End of the *Baptismal Covenant.* And I will take care to send you a more compleat Collection afterwards.

And now, when you have gain'd a *Society* of the best dispos'd *Youth* in your Parishes, when you have brought them to a love and liking of, and to take a sensible delight and pleasure in the *Religious Exercises* with which you entertain them: Nay, and when you have brought them thus to a *willing* Dependance upon you, so as to give themselves up *chearfully* to your *Instruction* in all things; what a *Blessed Opportunity* is put into your hands of giving them to understand the *Right Use*, the *Reason*, the *Excellency* of all the *Parts* and *Devotions* in their *Common-prayers*, than which I know not any instance of *Ministerial Instruction* of more consequence to the *Glory of God*, more befitting your *Function*, and more wanted at this day amongst the *Common people.*

I say, of such consequence to the *Glory of God;* For why? Of all the parts of *Religion*, as I have elsewhere observ'd, there is none does so immediately and directly point towards God, as *publick Worship*, and in the due performance of

which, the Glory of God is so much concern'd. This is that
(9) Homage the *Creature* pays to the *Creator;* and when it is Solemnly and awfully done, God is glorify'd in the Eyes of Men; than which, what can be more reasonable and necessary? And when it is slightly or irreverently paid, God is publickly to the World, and in his own Presence affronted; than which what can be more provoking to his Divine Majesty? And to take care that God is duly and decently Worship'd, is your peculiar Province, and a matter too which does infinitely concern Persons of your *Function.* It is you that preside in *Religious Assemblies,* and the good Conduct of that affair is wholly under you. It is you alone can Reprove there the disorderly and Indevout; and as you will approve your Selves for your Zeal in your great Masters Service, you will by no means endure there any Irregularity and Levity, but will most diligently instruct all your People so to demean themselves both in Body and Mind, as becomes such mean Creatures in the Presence of so great a God.

And yet, what is there wherein the generality of the Common-People do want Instruction more than in this very Case of paying their Worship to him with a due Solemnity, Reverence, and Devotion? It is really enough to disturb the Spirits of any serious Christian, to observe with what indifferency, carelessness, unconcernedness, so as to betray the no manner of Devotion in the Heart, the generality do demean themselves in the most Solemn parts of God's Service. But this great Evil, so much the Scandal and Offence of Pious Minds, (and I wish I could not say of the *Reformation*) as it does in a great Measure proceed from Ignorance in the Nature, and Reason of the Offices; so it would soon be Removed, were there but Twenty in each Congregation of the best disposed *Youth,* well Instructed in their *Common-Prayer,* and directed how to make their *Responses* with a Grave, Solemn Tone, proceeding from a Devout and Pious heart. Example does as much influence in this, as in any other Case; and a well regulated Service appears so

Venerable and Becoming, that the whole Congregation will insensibly slide into the Immitation of those who render it such. Now, that you should take the opportunity, when you shall have gain'd a *Catechetical Society* of *Youth* to meet you in order to Receive your Spiritual Council and Advice, more particularly to Instruct them well in the Use and Reason of the *Liturgy*, is what I have formerly urged in the Preface to my *Discourse on the Baptismal Covenant.* And that I reiterate the same Advice here, is because I think it a point of the greatest Importance to the Glory of God, and the Service of Men's Souls, that we Worship him aright. And that you may have no obstruction in the Regulation of this Matter, for want of Books, I have sent *Common-prayers* for you to *Lend* to the poorer *Youth.* And that they may be duly directed in so material a part, I have sent you to *Lend* also to the *Catechumens* that most Approved *Rationale* on our Service, Dr. *Beveridge's* [40a] *Sermon on the Use and Excellency of the Common-prayer.*

The last Resolution you have taken under this Head of *Catechising*, was, that so soon as you shall have duly prepared some of the *Superior Class* of *Catechumens* for the *Holy Sacrament*, so as not to fail of a sufficient number of *Communicants*, you would thence forwards have *Monthly Sacraments* in your respective Churches. And without doubt, the Minister who shall be able to form out of the *Youth* of his Parish, such a *Society*, as we are now speaking of, need never want Company at a *Monthly*, or more frequent *Sacraments.* When therefore you shall have train'd up a considerable number of the *Youth* of your Parish, to a very good pitch of knowledge in the Nature, Terms, and Conditions, and in whatever else pertains to that *Covenant*, which in that
(10) *Ordinance* thay are to ratifie and renew with God; and shall withall have Season'd them by your *Religious Discourses* with 'em, and *Pious Directions* given them, with such Vertues and Graces, as must qualifie them to be worthy *Communicants;* immediately upon that, I beseech you to appoint

your *Monthly Sacraments*, and to make it your special care to have all the *Catechumens* of the *Superior Class*, constantly, as well as worthily to partake in that *Holy Ordinance*.

Hereby your Youth will be happily pre-engaged in the Service of God. And from them, you will be always sure to have Guests at the Lord's-Table. And if you can instruct and prepare some of the poorer *Negroes* so far, as that they may joyn in *Communion* with you at the *Supper of our Lord*, (as our Brother Mr. *C . . . ch* [41] has so worthily done) methinks the Diversity of Complections will add a Beauty to the Spiritual Entertainment: And it may rejoyce our very Hearts to behold Minds so enlighten'd, in Bodies so Dark.

Our Blessed Saviour gave it as a Sign of the *Messias's* being come amongst the *Jews*, That *the Poor had the Gospel Preached unto them*. And sure our *Americans* may have Reason then to look upon your *Mission* as from God, when they shall behold you Labouring to improve the Minds of the meanest of them with the precious Truths of *Religion*.

The remaining part of your *Visitation Acts* relates to *Preaching*, to *private Application*, and to such Methods of *Discipline*, as are most necessary to be maintained among your selves.

And I shall, at my first Leisure, reflect likewise upon those Parts successively, in the same manner as here. I say, in the same manner as here; for I shall not offer to *lay heavy Burthens upon you, and not touch them with one of My Fingers*, but as with Relation to the Catechizing of all the degrees of Youth, Care shall be taken to furnish you with *Catechisms* and *Expositions* for them; so with reference to the two remaining Parts, I shall industriously endeavour to provide you with such necessary helps, as I can possibly procure, that so there may be no want of means to any of you to Execute the most difficult of all your *Resolutions*, and nothing to urge in Excuse as to the impracticableness of any one of those Particulars, you have so well, so much

becoming your Function, *Resolved* upon; For this you may assure your selves, that I am in the Lord Jesus Christ,

Reverend Sirs,

London, *March the 1st.* 1700.

Your most Affectionate Brother, and Faithful Fellow-Labourer,

Thomas Bray.

A

COURSE

OF

CATECHISING

To be Observed in the

PLANTATIONS.

Consisting of Books more particularly fitted for the Use of the Three several Classes of CATECHUMENS *there, in order to Season the growing Generation with the Principles of Piety and Virtue: Pursuant to the Resolutions made to that purpose the Second Day of the Visitation in* MARY-LAND, MAY *the* 24th, 1700.

I. For the First Class of Catechumens, consisting of Children under the Age of Nine,

The Church Catechism: with a Form of Morning and Evening Prayer for Children. And a Grace before and after Meat. Together with some select Scriptures, declaring the Duty of Children, and Servants, to their Pastors, Parents, and Masters. 20

These to be given to so many as will make a Class.

II. For the Second Class of Catechumens,

An Exposition of the Church Catechism, with Scripture Proofs, fitted for the second Class of Catechumens in the Plantations: Divided into four Parts; and subdivided into 52 Lessons, one for every Sunday in the Year: In which are explain'd the peculiar Terms in Divinity; And in which are given the Elements of Christian Knowledge,

both in the General Doctrine, and particular Articles of the Covenant of Grace. 20

These to be lent to so many as will make a Class.

(12) III. For the *Third* Class; or the Society of Catechumens, to be fitted for the Blessed Sacrament, either of Baptism, if Adult; or the Lord's-Supper, if formerly Baptiz'd. Preparative to the Forming, and Engaging of which *Catechetical Society*,

1. *A Pastoral Letter* from a Minister, address'd to the Young Persons of his Parish, shewing them the Necessity and Advantage of an early Religion; in order to perswade the Youth of each Parish in the Plantations to enter into Religious Societies of Catechumens, under the Conduct of their respective Ministers. 20

These to be put into the Hands of the most serious Youth in a Parish, in order to form them into such a Class, or Catechetical Society.

And to which is added, the better to engage them to meet at such *Catechetical Conferences*, as well as to promote so Heavenly a part of *Divine Worship*, as *Psalmody* in it self really is,

2. *A Collection of proper Psalms out of the late Versions, with Festival and Sacramental Hymns*, sufficient to be Sung in Families, Schools, and Churches. And Set to the most approved Tunes which are in use. 20

These to be sung both at the beginning and end of the Conference.

And then for the proper Instruction of these Persons,

3. *A Short Discourse on the Doctrine of our Baptismal Covenant*, proper to be read by all Young Persons, in order to their understanding the whole Frame and Tenor of the Christian Religion; and to their being duly prepared for Confirmation; with Devotions preparatory to that Apostolick and Useful Ordinance. 20

4. *A Course of Lectures upon the Church-Catechism.* These

to be Read by some one at the *Catechetical Conference*, more fully to Explain the whole Matter before Read, or Discourst upon. 20

5. *Common Prayers*. 20

6. *Dr.* Beveridge's *Sermon on the Use and Excellency of the Common-Prayer*. 20

These to be Lent to the Youth in the superior Class of Catechumens, *during the time they shall attend upon their* Catechetical Conferences, *That they may be then throughly directed, by the Ministers respectively, in the Use of the* Common-Prayer; *pursuant to what has been propos'd in that Matter, in the Preface to the Discourse on the* Baptismal Covenant, *and has been here again urg'd in this* Letter.

The End of the First Letter.

(11) A

Circular Letter,

To the Clergy of Mary-Land, *relating to the great Duty of* Preaching, *more especially to the supplying the Deficiency thereof, during the present paucity of Ministers, by Lending, or Dispersing of Good Books:*

Reverend Brethren,

SEEING that the Affairs which I am here agitating for the Church of *Mary-Land*, and your selves now Labouring in its Ministry, are likely to retard my Return amongst you for some time, I thought it requisite, to the more effectual Execution of those good Resolutions made by you at my late Visitation, to Depute certain Persons of Experience amongst you, to call you together at the appointed times, to visit Parochially your selves, your Libraries, and your Churches, and to Communicate to you, from time to time, such Instructions as by virtue of my Lord of *London*'s Commission to my self, or from his more particular Commands, I shall see Reason to transmit unto you; and I desire you will pay that Deference and Respect to them, as I might expect to my self, were I Personally amongst you; for this you may take as a certain Rule, that according to the due value you shall modestly and discreetly put upon your own Function, others will esteem it; and if you would have *no one despise* you, you your selves must Revere such of your Order as are in any degree placed over you.

I am first to acquaint you, that the Acts and Proceedings of our late Visitation were well approv'd of by our Right Reverend Diocesan, and other our Superiors here; and being they contain those Rules which are to be the Measures of

your future Conduct through all the parts of your Ministry, I have Printed them, and sent each of you a Copy, that you might have always before your Eyes that which you are to put into daily Practice.

I. And as the first Resolutions did refer to Catechizing, so I have not only transmitted, together with the ACTS OF VISITATION, my *Circular Letter* upon that Subject; but, as well to enable you to put every thing, then resolv'd upon, with respect to the three *Classes of Catechumens*, into Practice, as to enforce, by an earnest Exhortation, your Diligence in that matter, I have sent you a sufficient Number of *Catechisms* and *Expositions* for all those Ranks and Degrees of Children and Youth. And I do here Reiterate my Entreaties to you, that you would exert your Labours in this part of
(12) Instructing the Youth, as that which is not only a prime part of your Ministry, but what you are most likely to find your Accounts from, and your Pains thereby answered with Success.

II. The next Head of Resolutions then taken, related to a *Regular Scheme* of Preaching; and for the more full Direction in this, I would now have transmitted to you my VISITATION CHARGE wherein was given a Series of Doctrin, according to which, I think, you will most fully and clearly inform your Auditors in all things necessary to Salvation. But the other Services for your Church, wherein I have been entirely taken up ever since I return'd for *England*, has made it impossible for me as yet, to set in due order to be Printed, what I then deliver'd to you. Besides, it being my fixt Resolution to require nothing from you, without providing you with the means of performing it; I think it not amiss to suspend that part, till such time as I shall send you a further Supply to your Libraries; so that you may be able to find, when you go about to Compose your Sermons, the Judgment of the Learned, in the best Books upon each of those Heads of Instruction which I have recommended to you. And that

you may be the more secur'd from any Deficiency of necessary and useful Books, by having in view, where the want may lie of a Tract upon any important Head, all the Libraries themselves shall be Schematiz'd; and such Books as are thought most proper, are design'd every-where to be subjoyn'd to the Subject Matter.

WELL; but tho I am not here to speak to the great Duty of PREACHING, and the Provision I am Labouring to make for the better performance thereof; yet there is something Appurtenant, and Supplemental thereunto, concerning which I shall give you both my Thoughts, and Supplies, namely, The *Disposing* and *Dispersing* of good Books amongst the People. This, indeed, is in all places needful; but especially with you in the Plantations, something of this kind is more peculiarly necessary, where I have found the Cures so vastly wide, (some 30, some 40, some 50, and even the least 20 miles in length) that the far greatest part of the Heads of Families, I am sure, are seldom able to come to Church; and the Poor, who have not Horses, as also the Children and Servants scarcely ever. The Case, I must own it to you, has very much affected me. And to provide for the Defects of publick Instruction, occasion'd by such a Distance, is what, I must tell you, has taken up so much of my Thoughts, and no less of my Labour and Expence, that I am, at this time, almost exhaused thereby both of Spirits and in Purse. However, I am infinitely satisfied with the Work it self; and that you may tender the Design with greater regard to the good it would serve, I will presume to call this of a *Lending Layman's Library*, for the use of such as live most remote from Church, my darling Contrivance.

Take the whole Scheme of my Thoughts upon this matter as follows.

I. In Cures so exceedingly wide, I consider it will be almost equally impossible for a Minister to visit personally all his People, to carry thereby Instruction to them, as

'twould be for every one of his Flock duly to frequent the publick Ordinances, to receive it from him.

II. I do therefore conclude it equally necessary, to have, in each Parish, a Collection of plain practical Books, for the use of the Laity, as larger Libraries for the Service of the Clergy, that the Defects of publick Teaching may be supplied this way.

III. It would be an endless undertaking, and far beyond the compass of what Charities can reasonably be expected, to furnish all particular Persons with such Books.

IV. As this may be sufficiently done in a much cheaper way, *viz.* by the Ministers *Lending* Books amongst them; so it will, as well, if not better, answer the end, than out-right bestowing of them; it being commonly observ'd, that a Book which is *Lent*, is more speedily read over, and better digested, than Books of their own: More *speedily*, because they know they must return the Book, and upon that shall receive another: And it will be more *carefully* read, and better *digested*, because, in this case, they will expect, upon the Minister's calling in of the Book, to be asked to give some account of what they have read in it.

V. By the help of such a *Layman's Library*, well dispos'd, every Minister may, not only with ease, convey Instruction to every individual Person in his Parish, but that also regularly, in a due Scheme and Method, according as Christianity and all its parts do most naturally co-here together, to the clearing their minds of Confusion in what they understand of Religion.

VI. It is notoriously known, that multitudes of common people are extreamly poison'd with very pernicious Errors by the *Antinomian* Books, which are most frequently to be found amongst them. And the Heterodoxes, more especially of *Quakerism*, *Popery* and *Schism*, are very much occasioned by the want of Reading, and of Information in the Nature and Tendency of such Doctrines and Opinions; so that the dispersing some of the best and plainest Tracts, as well of

those practical Discourses, which give just Accounts of the Nature, Terms and Conditions of the Covenant of Grace; and those too both upon the general Doctrine, and particular Articles of the same; as the plainest pieces which have been written in Controversial Divinity, will be a singular means in the hands of the Clergy, to reach out on occasion to their People, to keep them right in the way of Salvation, without deviating on either side into the By-paths of *Heresie* and *Schism.*

VII. By thus *Lending* of Books, according to the necessities of the People, you will be also brought under a constraint to study, and to know your Charge very throughly, according to their several Wants; which Knowledge of your People, I humbly conceive to be of the greatest Consequence to a thorough Discharge of all the parts of the *Pastoral Care.* And for this Reason it is, that I do much insist upon your filling up the *Tabulae Parochialium Inquirendorum,* according as I have directed you. *It is therefore, that the Physician would know the Habits and Distempers of his Patient, that he may with the greater Skill apply to him proper Physick.*

(14) VIII. By thus *Lending out,* and *Calling in* of Books, you of the Clergy, when at any time you shall *visit* your People, will be naturally led into such Enquiries concerning their Spiritual Improvements, and into such a serious Conversation with them, as will most become Persons of your Function to be found in, and will most effectually maintain your Character with them. Thus mutually, and reciprocally will this Design Operate both upon Clergy and Laity, to the greatest good of both. Besides,

IX. A Benefaction of Books thus given, will not *terminate* with the particular Persons on whom they are bestow'd, but will be perpetuated to future Generations, to the better husbanding the Charity of those pious Persons, to whose Love to the Souls of Men, they are owing. And in order to the better preservation of the Books, each of these *Laymen's Libraries* are sent you in a strong *Book-press,* to be kept in

the *Vestry* Room, and deposited in Trust with the Minister for the time being, and his *Vestrymen*, who, every Lord's Day, will be able to inform you respectively, where, and with what person of your Parish, either of these Books are most wanting, and will hand them from you to such Persons. But of the Excellent Assistance which may accrue to you, and the Blessed Ends you would serve, by good *Vestries*, more hereafter.

X. By the means of these *Lending Libraries*, for the Use and Instruction of the Laity, the deplorable want of Clergy in the Plantations, will be, in some measure, supply'd; till such time as God, in his Goodness, shall enable those concern'd, to make a competent Provision in the ordinary way, for the *Propagating of the Gospel* in those dry and parch'd Corners of the Earth, by establishing a Maintenance, and sending in Clergy enough into the Plantations, so that their Cures, may, for Extent, be within some reasonable Compass.

Upon the foregoing Considerations, I am fully perswaded, that no Charity can be better suited to the present State of the Colonies abroad, nor with better husbandry laid out for them, than a Provision of good Books, and a *Lending* of them amongst the People in the manner aforesaid; and therefore have, with the utmost Application, and, I bless God, with an answerable Success, Labour'd to provide you of the following *Laymen's Libraries*, to have each of you, one in your Custody, to *Lend*, and distribute amongst the People commited to your Charge; more especially for you to hand out thereby Instruction to those who live at too great a distance from their Churches, to be able constantly to attend the publick Ministration. And may the Good God so bless these means in the hands of every one of you, as thereby to enable you to *turn many to Righteousness*. And to invigorate you in all the wisest Methods of Instructing and Enlightning the Souls of Men; Let those words of the Prophet be always sounding in your Ears, *They that be wise*, or diligent Teachers, *shall shine as the brightness of the*

Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever. And that you may Approve your selves such, shall be the hearty Prayer of

Reverend Sirs,

Your most Assured Friend,

And Affectionate Brother,

London July 1. 1701.

Thomas Bray.

THE

LAYMAN'S LIBRARY:

BEING

A Lending Library for the use of the LAITY.

Consisting of a Scheme of Divinity, with suitable Books, First, *for a full Instruction in all things necessary to Salvation.* Secondly, *To restore such as have fallen into Sin and Wickedness, by promoting in them a* Reformation of Manners. *And,* Thirdly, *To recover to the Truth, and the Unity of the Church, such as have gone astray into* Heresy *and* Schism. *To be kept in the Vestry of each Parish in the Plantations; and to be Lent out, and Call'd in, except a few to be given outright, according to the Discretion of the Minister thereof.*

I. For Instruction in all things necessary to Salvation.

First, *The Holy Scriptures themselves.*

Bibles. 10

Secondly, *Preparative Exhortations to awaken persons Consciences, to have regard to Religion, and the Salvation of their own Souls.*

Pastoral Letters from a Minister to his Parishoners: Being an earnest Exhortation to them to take care of their Souls, and preparative to render all his future Methods of Instruction more effectual to their Edification. 100

Thirdly. *For a general Instruction in the whole Body of Christian Doctrine.*

*Catechetical Lectures on the Covenant of Grace: Being a Body of Divinity, proper to be read in

Families on the Lord's Day instead of Sermons; more especially in Planters Houses at a great distance from Church. 2

Guides to a Christian. 10

Fourthly, *For the more particular Instruction in the Conditions of the Covenant.*

I. On Justifying and Saving Faith, and the Principal Object thereof, Jesus Christ, and him Crucify'd

**Kettlewell's* Christian Believer, *8vo.* 1

The Nature and Necessity of Saving Faith. 10

The Surpassing Excellency of Christian Knowledge; more especially of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ in his Nature and Offices. 10

II. On Evangelical Obedience and Christian Duties, as Exercis'd both in Holy Living, and Dying.

1st. *In Holy Living.*

**Kettlewell's* Measures of Christian Obedience. 1

*Whole Duties of Man. 2

Christian Monitors. 10

Serious Exhortations to Religious Duties both publick and private. 10

Seaman's Monitors, wherein particular Advice is given with Relation to the Seaman's Behaviour. 1. Before his Voyage. 2. in it. 3. After it. 10

2*dly. Holy dying.*

*Dr. *Sherlock* upon Death. 1

*Death made Comfortable. 1

A Persuasive to a Serious preparation for Death and Judgment, Containing several Considerations and Directions thereunto. 10

III. On the Nature and Necessity of Speedy Repentance.

Ellis of Consideration and speedy Repentance. 1

Asheton on Death-Bed Repentance. 10

Fifthly, *For Instruction in those means of performing the Conditions of the Covenant,* viz. *Prayer and the Sacraments.*

1st. *On Prayer.*

*Bishop *Patrick*'s Discourse of Prayer. 1

Mr. D.Assigny's Divine Art of Prayer. 10

2*dly*. *On The Sacraments.*

Discourse on the Nature, Necessity and Benefit of Sacraments, as Seals of the Covenant of Grace. 10

Kettlewel's Help and Exhortation to worthy Communicating. 1

Dorrington's Familiar Guide *to* the Holy Sacrament. 10

1) II. To Restore such as have fall'n into Sin and Wickedness, by promoting in all Ages and Conditions of Men, a Reformation of Manners.

First, *To Influence Magistrates, Parish-Officers and others to promote this Blessed Work.*

*A.Bishop's Collection of Articles, Canons and Injunctions, and of Acts of Parliament to be Read in Churches. 1

Accounts of the Society for Reformation of Manners. 5

Short Vindications of those who give Information. 50

Secondly, *To Reclaim some more Scandalous and Notorious Sinners.*

Earnest Exhortations to a Religious Observation of the Lord's Day. 50

Kind Cautions to prophane Swearers. 50

Disswasives from the Sin of Drunkenness. 50

Rebukes to the Sin of Uncleanness. 50

III. To Recover to the Unity of the Church all such as have gone astray into Heresy and Schism.

First, *In General.*

St. *Cyprian*'s Discourse of the Unity of the Church. 5

The Faith and Practice of a Church of *England* Man 5

Secondly, *In Particular.*

I. Quakers.

*Snake in the Grass. 1

*Defence of the Snake, in Answer to the Switch 1

Serious Calls to the Quakers to return to Christianity. 5

Mr. *Keith*'s Christian Catechism. 5

II. The Papists.

**Bennet*'s Epitome of the Discourses against Popery. 1

Accounts of the Cruelties done to the Protestants on Board the French Gallies, with an Exhortation to Perseverance. 5

III. The Dissenters.

Epitome of the *London* Cases. 1

Bishop King's Inventions of Men in the Worship of God. 2

Note, *Those Books which have an Asterism prefix'd, being Books of a larger Volume than may be consistent with the small Leisure of the generality of People, to read them, here are but few of them, and those to be lent only to persons of better Condition; but the smaller pieces are to be serviceable to the Edification of all indifferently, and therefore there is a larger proportion of them provided.*

The End of the Second Letter.[42]

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A

MEMORIAL

REPRESENTING THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

RELIGION,

ON THE

CONTINENT

OF

NORTH-AMERICA.

By THOMAS BRAY, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed by *William Downing*, for the Author, 1700.

To his GRACE [42]

THOMAS

Lord Arch-Bishop

OF

CANTERBURY,

Primate and Metropolitan

OF ALL

ENGLAND,

The following

MEMORIAL

Is with all Submission

Humbly Dedicated by

Thomas Bray.

(5) A

MEMORIAL

HUMBLY laid before

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishops of this Kingdom, and other Right Noble, and Worthy Patrons of Religion; *representing the Present State thereof, in the several Provinces on the Continent of* North-America, *in order to the Providing a sufficient Number of proper Missionaries, so absolutely necessary to be sent at this Juncture into those Parts.*

May it please Your Lordships, &c.

Amongst other Reasons for my Return at this time, of Consequence to our Church in *America;* in reference to which I have been happy in the Approbation of those my Ecclesiastical Superiors, to whom I am more immediately accountable in Things relating to my Mission, there is one of Concernment to be laid before all Your Lordships, the Universities also of this Kingdom; And I dare promise my self, will not be thought unworthy the Notice of all the Lovers of Christ, and his Religion. And it is to represent to You, the present State of Religion in *MARY-LAND, PENSYLVANIA*, the *EAST* and *WEST-JERSEYS, NEW-YORK, ROAD-ISLAND, LONG-ISLAND, NORTH* and *SOUTH-CAROLINA, BERMUDAS*, and *NEWFOUND-LAND.* And this in order to the Propagation of the true Christian Religion in those Parts, at a Crisis, when, as many Thousands are in a happy Disposition to embrace it, so Infidelity and Heresie seem to make their utmost Efforts to withdraw, and to fix those People at the greatest distance from it.

I. And to begin where I am more immediately concerned, with *MARY-LAND*. Here, through the Mercies of God, and after many Struggles with the *Quakers*, 'tis to be hop'd, we are in a fair way at last to have an *Establish'd Church:*
(6) The Law for which I have brought over with me for the Royal Assent. And thereby is provided a Maintenance for the Clergy of 40*l.* of Tobacco *per* Pole, tax'd upon each communicable Person; which amounts in some Parishes to about 80*l.* *per Annum*, according to the rate which Tobacco has born these three last Years; tho' that is higher than they can promise themselves the same for the future: But in 12 of them at least, by reason of the thinness of the Inhabitants, not to above a third of that Value. And yet these latter Parishes having built their Churches, think they ought to have Ministers as well as the rest: And had I not in my *PAROCHIAL VISITATION*, given them good Words, and fair Promises, speedily to supply them, I fear our Law would not have passed altogether so easily as it did. And yet how to make good that Promise to them, I shall be sadly at a loss, except the Proposals hereafter given may find Favour with Your Lordships, and those to whom you shall please to recommend them.

The *Papists* in this Province appear to me not to be above a twelfth Part of the Inhabitants; but their *Priests* are very numerous; whereof more have been sent in this last Year, than was ever known. And tho' the *Quakers* brag so much of their Numbers and Riches, with which Considerations they would incline the Government to favour them with such unpresidented Privileges, as to be free from paying their Dues to the *Established Church*, or rather, would fain overthrow its Establishment; yet they are not above a 12th Part in number, and bear not that proportion, they would be thought to do, with those of the Church, in Wealth and Trade.

II. As for *PENSYLVANIA*, I found too much Work in *Mary-Land*, to be able to visit Personally that Province,

tho' most earnestly solicited thereunto by the People. But there pass'd Letters betwixt my self, and that Church, full of the greatest Respects on their sides: And by such Notices as I have receiv'd from some of the Principal Persons of that Country, I am fully made to understand the State of Religion there; where, I think, if in any part of the Christian World, a very good proportion of the People are excellently dispos'd to receive the Truth.

The *Keithites*,[44] which are computed to be a Third Part, are truly such; and so very well affected are they to the Interest of our Church, that, in the late Election of Assembly-Men, even since Mr. *Penn* came into his Government, they had almost carried it for the Church-men, to their great Surprize; so as to let them see, they had been only wanting to themselves in not timely applying.

There are in *Pensylvania* two Congregations of *Lutherans*, being *Swedes*, whose Churches are finely built, and their two Ministers lately sent in, nobly furnished with 300*l.* worth of Books by the *Swedish* King: And they live in very good Accord with our Minister, and his Church.

There is but one Church of *England* Minister as yet there, and he at *Philadelphia*, well esteem'd and respected by his People: And they do most importunately solicit both from thence, and from other Parts of that Province for more, where, I am assured, there are at least six wanting.

(7) There are some *Independents*, but neither many, nor much bigotted.

III. Adjoyning to this, are the two Colonies of *EAST* and *WEST-JERSEYS*, where they have some pretty Towns, and well-peopled; but are wholly left to themselves, without Priest, or Altar. The *Quakers* are very numerous in the *Jerseys*. But the *Keithians*, who are many there, are a like affected to us, as in *Pensylvania*. And I think there would be a Reception for six Ministers in both the *Jerseys*.

IV. From *NEW-YORK*, I have an Account that a Church of *England* Clergy are much wanted there: And there will be

room for at least two Ministers, besides one which they have already; the one to assist at *New-York*, th'other to be plac'd at *Albany;* where, besides the Inhabitants of the Town, which are many, we have two Companies of Soldiers in Garrison, but all without a Preacher.

I shall not here speak of the Number of *Missionaries* requisite to be sent to Convert the Native *Indians*, lying on the back of this, and all our other Colonies on the Continent. Now that the *French* of *Canada* do, by their Priests, draw over so many of these *Indians*, both to their Religion, and their Interests, in the Opinion of many wise Persons, who understand the active and inveterate Spirit of *Popery*, the Nature of the *Indians*, and the Scituation of those Parts, the Civil Government has very great Reason to take Umbrage, so as to think it of the highest consequence to the Preservation of our Plantations, to have those *Indians*, which border upon us, brought over to our Religion, in order to hold them in a stricter Alliance with us. This, I hope, may facilitate another *Memorial* relating to that particular Case, so as to obtain from the Publick such a Fund, as may maintain at least Twenty such Persons, as will learn their Language, live with them, and preach the Gospel amongst them. But the Reasons for making Provision for the Support of Religion within the Colonies, being not, as commonly apprehended, of so National a Concern; it is from particular Persons, and such only as are more than ordinarily zealous for the Honour of God, and the Good of Souls, that we can with much Assurance promise our selves a necessary Assistance towards Promoting in these so good a Work. And therefore shall address, in relation to them, in another way of Proposal. To proceed then.

V. In *LONG-ISLAND* there are Nine Churches, but no Church of *England* Minister, tho' much desired; and there ought to be at least Two sent to that Colony.

VI. In *ROAD-ISLAND*, for want of a Clergy, many of the Inhabitants are said to be sunk downright into Atheism.

The New Generation, being the Off-spring of *Quakers*, whose Children, for want of an Outward Teaching, which those Enthusiasts at first denied, being meer *Ranters;* as indeed the Sons of *Quakers* are found to be such in most Places, and equally to deny all Religion. However through the Noble Assistance of Colonel *Nicholson*, Governor of *Virginia*, there is a Church rais'd in that Colony, and something subscribed towards a Maintenance of one Minister. But there will be Work enough for Two substantial Divines at least.

(8) VII. *NORTH-CAROLINA* lies betwixt *Virginia* and *South-Carolina:* It has two Settlements; th'one called *Roanoak*, the other *Pamplico*, 100 Miles distant from each other. And as there will be Occasion for at least Two Missionaries to be sent amongst them; so the Governor, who is now going over to that Colony, being a very worthy Gentleman, I dare promise will give the best Countenance and Encouragement which shall be in his Power.

VIII. *SOUTH-CAROLINA* is the last Province that I shall now speak of, on the Continent, a very thriving Colony, and so large, as to want at least Three Missionaries, besides one lately sent there.

IX. Over against *South-Carolina*, lie the *Bermudas*, or *Summer-Islands*, formerly reckoned very plentiful, as well as pleasant and healthful; but are now known to be very poor and barren; which is commonly attributed to two Reasons: *First*, The fall of their *Cedars*, that shelter'd them from hurtful Winds; since which time, these Islands, formerly so famous for their Oranges and Lemons, are now continually blasted: And, *Secondly*, To a certain Worm or Ant, so much encreased upon them, as totally in some places to devour their Corn. But from whatever Causes the Poverty of the Place proceeds, so it is, that tho'there are Eight Tribes or Parishes, with so many Churches, endow'd with some Shares of Land, which formerly might afford a mean Provision, now there is but one Minister upon the Place, and he but barely subsisted; so that considering the Extent of that Knot of little Islands, Three Missionaries at least will be wanting there.

It is no part of my Province to speak to *Virginia*, it being under the Jurisdiction of a very worthy Person, Mr. *Commissary Blaire;* [45] whose Abilities, as they fit him for great Designs, so his Industry has been for some Years exercised in doing uncommon Services to that Church.

But the Gratitude, which all that are well-affected to Christianity, do owe, more especially the Clergy, and above all my self, to that admirable Patron of Religion and Learning, Colonel *Francis Nicholson*, the present Governor thereof, forbids me to pass over in silence those glorious Works which he is there carrying on, with such unusual Application; and which, when accomplished, must render his Memory sweet to all succeeding Generations.

The Two great Designs, which he is now so intent upon, for the Good of that Church, (not to mention here what a Patron, or rather a Founder, he has been to it, in most of the other Provinces now named) are the Erecting of a *College* in *Virginia*, or rather an *University;* for which he has obtain'd a Charter from his Majesty, with a Noble Endowment, and the Building of which he has already far advanced; and the Settling of the Church by Law, on such a Foot, and Constitution, as will render that Clergy and Province mutually happy in one another.

Considering this Governor's late Heroick Actions in the Conquest of the most desperate of Enemies, the Pirates, who were so infatuated, as to approach his Province, and in whose
(9) Reduction, his own Personal Presence and Valour had a share, but that it was necessary to the Service of his Prince, of his Government, and of its Trade, almost to a Fault: It's hard to say, whether Arms or Letters have the greatest Right to challenge him for their General. But when we consider the extream disproportion betwixt the Numbers of Persons in Publick Post, who are studious of the Good of God's Church, compar'd with such, as are thought serviceable to the State in Arms, it ought to be the hearty Prayers of all the Friends of Religion and Learning, not only in his own Province,

but all over that Continent, that whenever the Service of the Publick shall oblige him again to expose his Person to such Dangers, that God would preserve him; for should he fall, in all humane Appearance, the Loss would be irreparable.

Nor do I think my self oblig'd to speak here of *New-England*, where *Independency* seems to be the Religion of the Country. My Design is not to intermeddle, where Christianity under any Form has obtained Possession; but to represent rather the deplorable State of the *English Colonies*, where they have been in a manner abandoned to *Atheism;* or, which is much at one, to *Quakerism*, for want of a Clergy settled among them. And, I think, I have one remaining Instance of such Neglect in this kind, as if it provokes me to some warm Reflections upon our Nation (for the Church, I know, wants Power and Riches to do much of it self) I conceive the Occasion will bear me out.

X. And it is with reference to the last Colony in *America*, that I shall speak any thing to at present, namely, *NEW-FOUND-LAND*, near whose Coast we were drove, in my Voyage to *Mary-Land;* and I could have been very glad, if, with the Safety of our Ship and Lives, we had been thrown into it, that I might have Personally seen the Condition of the Place and People. But this Curiosity was in a great measure satisfy'd, by the Account I received from the Master of a Ship on Board of us, who had made many Voyages there, and gave me this Account of the Island, so far as it is in the Possession of the *English:* That there are Harbours in it belonging to us, 26; Families, 274; Inhabitants, as well Winter as Summer, on the Island, about 1120; Workers, about 4200; Ships Crew, in the Fishing Season, 3150; and Men in the Ships, sent at the latter end of the Year to carry home the Fish, 1200.

And now, is it possible to imagine, that from a Nation professing Christianity in its Purity, desecate of the least Tincture of Dross, and Corruption; the sole Tendency of whose Principles is, to inspire all its Disciples with the

noblest Thoughts of God, with an ardent Zeal for his Honour and Glory, and with a boundless and unlimited Love to Mankind; a Love as *Extensive* as the whole World, and as *Intensive* as that we have to our selves? Is it credible, that in a Colony of so many Thousand Souls, who are all of them Natives from *England*, from whence our Shipping do sail to it, during many Months in the Year, and in whose Navigation our best Seamen are bred up; and where so many Hundred Families abide perpetually, some 20 Years, most the
(10) whole course of their Lives; and from whose Trade such Profit accrues to the Nation, as contributes, next to the Woollen Manufacture, to turn the Balance of *Europe* in Commerce on our side? Can any one believe it, when he is told, that from such a Nation, so little Care has been taken, with respect to such a Colony, that there never was, nor yet is, any *Preaching*, *Prayers*, or *Sacraments*, or any Ministerial and Divine Offices, performed on that Island; but that they should be suffered to live as those, who know no God in the World! Are *Rome* and *Mecca*, whose Sons are so apt to compass Sea and Land to gain Proselytes to Superstition and Folly, so regardless of their own People? And will it not then be more tolerable for that *Tyre*, and this *Sydon*, than for us, in the Day of Judgment? For if they had known the things which we do, the most rude and uncultivated of those Parts, which we possess, should not have remained uninstructed in the best Religion in the World.

The Truth of it is, this Indifference of ours in Propagating the Religion which we profess to believe, in those Parts, where, as well our Power does enable us, as our Duty oblige us, to take some Care thereof, is the Amazement of all whom I ever yet heard make serious Reflection upon it.

But since,[45a] from what I have yet found, I am not sanguine enough to hope for any publick Funds for the *PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE*, either in this, or the other Colonies: and the only hopes is from the pious Clergy themselves, and such particular Persons amongst the

devout Laity, whose Hearts are inflamed with a Love of God, and of those Souls which he has purchased with his own Blood: I shall rather turn my self to you, my most Reverend Fathers, and other Noble Patrons of Religion, giving you a general Estimate of the Number of *Missionaries*, which we hope to be supplied withall from your Paternal Care, and Pious Assistance: And as there will be need of at least Two to be sent for *Newfoundland;* so, upon the whole, it appears, that there are at present wanting no less than Forty *Protestant Missionaries* to be sent into all these Colonies. And the Necessity that there should be both so many, and those singularly well qualify'd for the purpose, I am next to shew you. And that there should be at least that Number sent into each of these Colonies, as I have now mentioned, appears from hence, That even then their Business will lie extreamly wide; but chiefly for this Reason, that there is so great an Inclination to embrace Christianity amongst many *Quakers*, all over those Parts where Mr. *Keith* has been, that it will be fatal Neglect, if our Church should not close with that Providence, which offers so many Proselytes into her Bosom. And the Plantations growing now into populous and powerful Provinces, with all Submission, in my Opinion, ought not to be so neglected, as that it should be indifferent to us, whether they be made Christians, or abandoned to Infidelity.

Nor is the Necessity less that these *Missionaries* should be singularly well qualify'd, than that they should be at all sent. And indeed, in order to make the better Choice, agreeable to what I have observed of the State, the Temper, and Constitution of the Country and People, is one great Reason that hath perswaded me so soon back. And the Persons which alone can do good there, as I conceive, must,

In the *First* place, be of such nice Morals, as to *abstain from all Appearance of Evil;* there being not such a calumniating people in the World, as the *Quakers* are every where found to be. And it is the worst Fault of the Plantations, that they give their Tongues too much liberty that way, especially if they can find the least Flaw.

Secondly, They must be Men of good *Prudence*, and an *exact Conduct*, or otherwise, they will unavoidably fall into Contempt, with a People so well vers'd in Business, as every the meanest Planter seems to be.

Thirdly, They ought to be well experienced in the *Pastoral Care*, having a greater Variety, both of Sects and Humours, to deal with in those Parts, than are at home; and therefore it would be well, if we could be provided with such as have been Curates here for some time.

Fourthly, More especially they ought to be of a *true Missionary Spirit*, having an ardent Zeal for God's Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls.

Fifthly, Of a very *active Spirit*, and consequently, not so grown into Years, as to be uncapable of Labour and Fatigue, no more than very Young, upon which account they will be more liable to be despised.

And, *Lastly*, They ought to be good, substantial, well-studied Divines, very ready in the Holy Scriptures, able with sound Judgment to explicate and prove the great Doctrines of Christianity, to state the Nature and Extent of the Christian Duties, and with the most moving Considerations to enforce their Practice, and to defend the Truth against all its Adversaries: To which purpose, it will be therefore absolutely requisite to provide each of them with a *Library* of necessary Books, to be fix'd in those places to which they shall be sent, for the Use of them, and their Successors for ever: This to be a perpetual Encouragement to good and able Divines, always to go over, and to render them useful when they are there: A Design of whose *Usefulness*, of whose *Necessity*, I am now so fully perswaded, since I have been in, and know the Wants of those parts, that I am resolved to have no hand in sending, or taking over any one, the best *Missionary*, who shall not be so provided.

Well, but the great *Quaere* is, How we may be able to procure so great a Number of such able *Missionaries?* How to maintain them? And how to furnish them out with such

Libraries? In order to all which, I crave leave to offer these following Considerations.

First, That the Colonies now named, consisting chiefly of *Quakers,* or such, as for want of the Gospel being preached amongst them, are in a manner of no Religion; They are in that respect to be considered as almost so many Heathen Nations. And it will seem unreasonable, to expect that a People, before they are converted, and made to understand the Goodness and Advantages of true Religion, should be induc'd to maintain its Ministry: And especially in this Case of the *Quakers,* the Persons chiefly to be proselyted, who,
(12) above all other Rites of the Church of Christ, have been deeply prejudiced against the Maintenance of the Clergy.

Secondly, That if the *Missionaries,* which shall be sent into each of those Colonies, shall be well chosen, and duly qualified, I am perswaded they will find the Work of God to prosper so well in their Hands, that in Three Years time the People will, out of pure Devotion, subscribe, or settle a plentiful Maintenance both for them, and their Successors. To support me in which Conjecture, we have Two very emenent, and late Instances; the one in *Pensylvania,* th' other in *Carolina.* In the former of which, Mr. *Clayton,* who at his first going over, Three Years ago, and whilst his Congregation was not above Sixty Persons, had scarcely 50*l.* *per Annum* Maintenance; yet upon the Accession of new Converts, to upwards of 700, (for so is that Church increased in Three Years) has brought the Maintenance of the Minister of *Philadelphia* to 150*l.* *per Annum.* And in *Carolina,* Mr. *Marshall,* through his excellent Preaching, and singular Conduct, so gain'd upon the People, that from a poor Subscription-Maintenance at first, they settled upon him and his Successors, within Two Years after his being amongst them, what amounts to 200*l.* *per Annum.* And at his Death, the general Assembly of that Province were so kind to his Widow, as to present her with 200*l.* at her Return home.

Thirdly, I conceive therefore, that in the Interim, and during the first Three Years, it will be absolutely necessary, that these *Missionaries* should be subsisted from hence; and it shall be my utmost Care in that time to have them so provided of Glebes, and the same so stock'd, as that they may thenceforward live comfortably upon the Emoluments of their own places.

Fourthly, The Method by which I would humbly propose to have these *Missionaries*, which I desire, both well chosen, and supported from home, in their Service for the first Three Years, is as follows.

1. As to the Choice, That every Bishop be pleased to pitch upon some proper Person within his own Diocess, such as his Lordship shall judge best qualified, as aforesaid, for the Mission: And then,

2. As to his Support, That his Lordship having countenanced the following Proposal in such measure, as (considering the many other like Calls upon those in his Station, more than upon any other) his Lordship shall think fit, he be pleased to recommend it to the dignify'd, and other the most considerable Clergy within this Diocess; and they, to the well disposed Laity within their respective Parishes, to subscribe what may maintain one Missionary at least, to be sent from such Diocess.

3. That where there happens to be any such Persons, as of noted Zeal for God's Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls; so of Ability withal to maintain of themselves a Missionary; especially, if such as have not Children to inherit their Estates, and consequently, whom Providence seems to have design'd to be publick Benefactors to Mankind; That a more particular
(13) Application be made to such, as those, who have reason to be[46] glad of an Opportunity to entitle themselves to expressly, as this will, to the exalted Degrees of Glory, promised to those *wise Persons who turn many to Righteousness*, Dan. 12.3.

4. That the Summ subscribed for each *Missionary* be 50*l.* *per Annum* for Three years. And as less will not be suffi-

cient to encourage a Person of Learning and Worth to undertake the Mission; so it will not suffice to subsist even a private Minister in those Parts, where every thing is very dear, which must be bought for Money, and not bartered for by the Product of the Country; which no Clergy-man will be Master of, till he can have a Glebe, and shall have cultivated his Plantation.

5. That the Subscriptions be paid in to the *Arch-Deacons* at their *Easter-Visitation*, and be forthwith returned by them to the Hands of the Bishop of the Diocess; or to such Person, or Persons in *London*, as his Lordship shall appoint to receive it, and so pay it to the Order of the *Missionary* sent by such Diocess.

6. That besides the 50*l.* *per Annum*, allow'd each *Missionary* for his Subsistence, 20*l.* a-year be appropriated towards buying a *Library* of necessary, and useful Books, both for himself, and his Successors in the Town, or other Place wherein he shall be setled.

Lastly, That the first Payment of the 50*l.* and 20*l.* be advanced at his first going off (which I could wish might be before *Christmas*[47] next) that so being sufficiently furnished with all Necessaries, he may not appear to come, as an indigent Person into the Place where he shall be appointed, and as one that is to have Free Quarters upon those he is to proselyte. The *Quakers* being very prying into the Condition of those who come over; whome if they find poor, they proclaim Hirelings, and to come meerly for Bread; but if otherwise, they have been found at a loss what to say against them. And to be well provided at first, will succeed the better to the advantage both of the *Missionary* himself, and the Church; To the support and continuance of which, he will undoubtedly lay a good Foundation, who being happy in his Conduct, shall come first.

And indeed, my Lords, could we but have such Men at first, as by their real Worth might be able to gain the Esteem and Affections of those People, I do not in the least

doubt from what I have already found, but that in my next *Visitation* I could obtain large *Tracts of Glebes,* and good Houses, built by the respective Parishes in *Maryland,* and the Proselyte-Churches in the other Colonies; so as both those, who shall now go over, will themselves in a few years be in a comfortable Condition, and their Successors after them in a happy Settlement.

And as neither the Clergy's Condition can be comfortable, nor can it be properly call'd a Settlement, till they shall be in Houses, and on Glebes of their own; so now is the time
(14) to endeavour both, or it will be too late hereafter to think of obtaining either. For as yet Land may be taken up, or had upon easie Terms; but should the Plantations continue to increase, as they have done of late, within Seven Years Land will not be purchased at treble the value, as now.

For my own part, I take this to be so happy a Juncture to lay the Foundation of lasting Good to the Church of God in those Provinces, that though after the Expence already of above a Thousand Pounds in its Service, and though it is likely to be still at my own Charge, when I go again, yet I shall not make the least Difficulty in accompanying your Lordships *Missionaries,* which from your respective Diocesses you shall please to send into those Parts. And being therefore so little interested my self in the *Mission,* I hope I may with a better Countenance, through your Lordship's Patronage, presume to offer the following *Proposals* to the very Reverend Dignitaries, and wealthier Clergy, and other well-disposed Persons of the Church, for a small Subscription from each of them towards the Maintenance of those *Missionaries,* their Brethren, whom your Lordships shall please to send.

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(15) PROPOSALS for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the several Provinces, on the Continent of *North-America.*

WHEREAS it has pleased God of late to stir up the hearts of many People in the American *Plantations, who seem'd*

formerly to have forgot Religion, now to be very solicitous, and earnest for Instruction, so as of themselves to call for those Helps, which in Duty they ought to have been prevented in, by us, from the beginning: And whereas, to our shame, we must own, that no Nation has been so guilty of this neglect as ours: The Papists, of all Countries, having been most careful to support their Superstitions where-ever they have planted: The Dutch *with great care allowing an Honourable Maintenance, with all other Encouragements, for Ministers in their Factories and Plantations: The* Swedes, *the* Danes, *and other small Colonies, being seldom, or never deficient in this Particular; and we of the* English *Nation only being wanting in this Point: And lastly, Whereas though it be true that some of our most considerable Plantations have set out Parishes, and Allowances for Ministers, yet it is not so in all; and where some Provision is made, it is as yet far short of being sufficient to maintain a Minister: And there is a total Neglect of informing the poor Natives. Out of all these Considerations, we do not think a more charitable Work can be carried on, than as much as in us lyes, to contribute towards the Redress of these great Failures: And therefore do subscribe, to that purpose, the several Summs to our Names annex'd.*

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

The Protestant Religion

IN

MARYLAND[48]

In the year 1691 His Majesty having graciously thought fit to take the Government of *MARYLAND* into his own hands, and the Province into his immediate Care; In *May* 1692, an Act of Assembly passd for the Establishment of the Protestant Religion there, and for dividing of the *TEN COUNTIES* thereof into Five and twenty Parishes, each of which, are endowed with a competent Maintenance for a Minister. But the Execution of that Act hath been in a manner wholly neglected, till it pleased his MAJESTY to confer the Government on the most Worthy and Excellent Person, *FRANCIS NICHOLSON* esq: who since his Arrival in *Aug.* 1694, with an Indefatigable Industry and Zeal to promote His MAJESTYS Honour, the Intrest of the *Protestant Religion*, and the good of the whole Province hath Revived and Reinforced the said Act, by another Additional one, for the Increase and Maintenance of Religion; hath Collected the Arrears, and is now Building several Churches, besides one Fine Church at *ANNOPOLIS* in *ARUNDEL* County, with a Parsonage House to every Church: Toward all which His EXCELLENCY the Council and other inhabitants of the Province, have generously and largely Contributed.

And that a perpetual Succession of *Protestant* Divines of the CHURCH of ENGLAND may be provided for the

propagation of the True Christian Religion in the said Colony, His EXCELLENCY hath by the Consent of the Council and Burgesses in Assembly promoted a Law, vesting a Power in certain Trustees for Erecting one Free School in each County, one of which is already begun at *ANNOPOLIS*, and is to be Endowed with 100l sterling per annum, for the Maintenance of one Master and two Ushers, for Instructing the Youth of the said Province in ARITHMETICK, NAVIGATION and all USEFUL LEARNING; but chiefly for the Fitting such as are dispos'd to study DIVINITY, to be further educated at His MAJESTYS COLLEGE ROYAL in *VIRGINIA* in order upon their Return to be ordained by the Lord Bishop of *LONDON'S* SUFFRAGAN Residing in the Province, both for that Purpose, and to supervise the lives of the Clergy thereof; for whose support also at the Request and Recommendation of the Assembly, His EXCELLENCY hath settled fair and competent Maintenance.

The Person now Deputed by the Lord Bishop of *LONDON* to be his COMMISSARY in *MARY-LAND* for the propagation of our most Holy Religion amongst the Infidels, for Inducement of Sober and Serious Young Divines to go to the Foreign Plantations, and for the better Qualifying them for so Noble and Christian an Employment is now wholly busied in Collecting of PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES of Choice and Useful Books, for the perpetual Use of such of the Clergy, who shall now undertake that Voyage, and for all those who shall succeed them. AND certainly a more suitable Encouragement to Men of good Parts, and Inclination to go upon so blessed a Mission, could not be thought of: For as it is Books alone which will encourage the most Studious Virtuous, and consequently the most useful Persons to go over; so it is an Encouragement that is a manner necessary to be provided in the Foreign Plantations; since few or none at their first going over, are in a Condition to provide themselves therewith; and when

they are there, Books are hardly to be met with, by those who shall be able to buy them. And yet without a competent provision of several Useful and Necessary Books, it is morally impossible that any should be enabled to instruct their People.

And now that such Excellent works are jointly begun, and carrying on, What a happy Conjunction is this (which perhaps may not again recur) for Persons who are Piously dispos'd, to give their helping hand towards such Blessed and glorious Designs, as the Propagating of True Christian Knowledge and Practice in Places formerly so much Uncultivated therewith. Surely if he who *Converteth* a single *Sinner from the Errour of his Ways, shall hide a Multitude of Sins,* what abundant Matter for comfortable Reflections upon a Death-bed shall that Person lay up, who shall contribute towards providing of the most proper and genuine Means, next to the Divinely Inspired Writings, of Converting many poor Souls, not only in this, but in all future Generations, even so long as the Sun and Moon endureth.

Benedicat Deus Operi & Faventibus.

Finis

A LETTER[49]

from Dr. BRAY, to such as have contributed towards the propagating Christian Knowledge in the PLANTATIONS.

Being apprehensive that my so sudden Return for *England*, may occasion some Misconstructions, till the true Reasons thereof shall be understood, to the prejudice of those Designs, which you do so nobly support, for the Destruction of the Powers of Darkness, and the Enlargement of Christs Kingdom in His Majestys Plantations; I thought myself in Duty, Gratitude, and in Prudence bound, to represent hereby a General View of those Reasons, which have induced me to make it so soon, and unexpectedly. And they are as follows

FIRST, It is pursuant to the desire of the General Assembly of Mary-Land; who having most unanimously passed a Bill of the Highest Consequence for the Establishment of our Church voted that I should be desired to request my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and my Lord Bishop of London, to favour that good Law, by obtaining His Majestys Royal Assent to the same, with all convenient Expedition. And the Members, who gave me an Account of passing such a Vote, told me withal, that it was the General Opinion, that I could be most serviceable herein, by waiting personally upon Their Lordships, rather than by Letters: In which I could not crowd all that may be necessary to be represented concerning the present State of the Church, and the Necessity, at this time, of their utmost Patronage. And it was in Debate, whether I should not be desired by the Assembly so to do: But that it was thought this would be too unreasonable a Request, they being sensible of the great Charges and Fatigues I had been already at in the Service of that Province; as they had a few days before acknowledged by a Message from the House, with their thanks for the same.

SECONDLY. It is at the joint Request of the Clergy of Mary-Land, who at the close of my Visitation, amongst other pressing Reasons urged me with this, that they found it to be the earnest Desire of the most sensible, and well affected to our Religion, throughout the Province, that I should go over with the Law for England; Now that the Quakers are openly, and the Papists more covertly, making their utmost Efforts against the Establishment of our Church, by false Representations at home, of the Numbers and Riches of their Party; and by insinuating, That to impose upon them an Establish'd Maintenance for the Clergy, would be prejudicial to the Interest of the Province, by obliging so many wealthy Traders to remove from thence. The Falsity of which they thought me best able to make appear, by means of my late Parochial Visitations, throughout the greatest Part of the Province; more especially, by the returns given in upon my *Tabula prima Parochialium Inquirendorum;* by which when they shall be all sent in, I shall be enabled to give an Account of the Names of all Heads of Families, & not only of the Religion, but in a good measure of the Morals of every Man, Woman and Child, Freeman and Slave, White and Black, throughout Mary-Land.

THIRDLY, Having answered the Clergy, that I could easily be perswaded, either to go or stay, by the same Motives that urged my coming so many Thousand Miles to visit them; viz: as it should appear to me Wherein I could be most serviceable to the Church, by the one, or the other: Yet being resolved to pay the greatest Deference to those in Authority, I should determine my self in so nice a Point by the Judgment of the Governor. Upon which the Clergy having addressed his Excellency with their Reasons, he was pleased to prevent my waiting upon him, by coming to me immediately as soon as the Visitation was finished, and declared himself to be very much the same Opinion with the Clergy, as to the importance of my going over.

FOURTHLY, It is to represent to my Superiors the State of Religion in *Mary-Land*, *Pensylvania*, the *East* and *West Jerseys*, which requires some speedy Consideration; and with reference to which, I have several things to propose to my Superiors, wherein I shall want their Instructions.

FIFTHLY, It is in order to make the better Choice of proper Ministers for the Service of those Churches, agreeable to what I have observed of the State the Temper and Constitution of the Country, and People: of which Ministers, as there are still wanting at least Thirty: So they must have some peculiar Qualifications, if they would do good there. To supply which want, and to get such qualify'd Persons, it is necessary to confer with my Lord of London; as also to write to such of my Lords the Bishops, and the Reverend Arch-Deacons, as I have the Honour to be known to, to recommend to me proper Persons such as they know to be, not only of an exact Conduct, both as to Prudence, and all other good Morals, and have been for some time Curates, well experienced in the Pastoral Care; but also of a true, publick, disinterested, in one word, of a *Missionary Spirit*, having a Zeal for, Gods Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls; and such as are by no means grown into Years, who cannot endure Fatigue; (the Parishes as yet being very large) nor yet on the other side, raw young Men, who can never preserve themselves above Contempt amongst a People of such quick Parts, and good Intellectuals, as the Plantation-People are generally observ'd to be.

SIXTHLY, It may perhaps appear of less weight than it really is, should I give it as one of my Reasons, that I may procure, and carry back with me a considerable number of *Carpenters*, *Bricklayers*, and *Joyners*, to finish some *Churches*, and to build *Parsonage-Houses* upon the Glebes; which I have already procured, and hope in a short time to have settled throughout the Province. The want of Workmen makes Building there excessively chargeable; so that I find upon auditing the Accounts of the several

Vestries in my Parochial Visitations, that the large Sums laid out in building their Churches, is by no means answer'd in the Fabricks; And therefore to husband the Charity of the Country, that shall be given towards building of the Parsonage Houses, So as it shall be more extensive, I have brought the Clergy into a Subscription, to maintain every one his Workman and to allow him much better than the Custom of the Country is to do, and yet to be no Losers thereby themselves. By which means I am enabled to make such Proposals, as will give sufficient Encouragement to good and sober Persons to go over with me. But though this may be too mean a Consideration yet, *LASTLY*, I hope this may appear of some weight; that it is, Because I find there comes under my Cognizance several very important Cases to be speedily tried, with relation to the Clergy and Laity. To determine several of which, being of so high a Nature as *Forgery of Holy Orders, Polygamy and Incest*, I want Instructions as to the Manner and Forms of Proceedings: And as it appears to me, have no Power, by my Commission to give such Sentences as the Nature of the Crimes will require. And in the due Execution of which, as I perceive that I have many Eyes upon me; so the Country expects that something should be done effectually in that Matter; and should I fail therein, my being there would be to no manner of purpose of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the necessary Regulation of the Clergy and Laity.

I hope these Reasons may appear sufficient to Persons of that singular Candour, and Goodness which I have found in you. But because it is fit you should be in some measure satisfy'd at present (tho' I intend to do it hereafter in an ample and publick manner) of the good that has been wrought by your means; I do assure you, that besides the very useful Libraries, which are provided through your Benefactions, and are settled in Pensylvania, New York, New England, Carolina, Bermudas, are begun in several of

the Leward Islands, and are far advanced in Mary-Land: I have received in the latter the Acknowledgments of the most publick Persons, that the Face of things, as to Religion, Humanity, and good Morals, is very much alter'd for the better within these few Years, that a Clergy have been sent among them: And have, I hope in my Visitation, set the Clergy in such Methods, as, with the Divine Benediction upon their Endeavours, will render them a continued Blessing to those Parts.

And it may not be amiss to add, that as I have personally found the whole Body of the Mary-Land Clergy (excepting two, who have in part met already, and will sufficiently feel the Effects of Discipline) to give me an unusual Demonstration of their *Pastoral Care:* And some of them to have so signalized themselves, by their Industry, in the Instruction of the Negro's within their respective Parishes, (of which they have baptized great Numbers) that these poor Barbarians are not now the most ignorant, and least Solemn Part of their Assemblies; So at Philadelphia in Pensylvania, the Congregation of Church-People, which amounted but to 60, at the most not two Years ago, through the Blessing of God upon the Endeavours of a late Missionary, is now increas'd, chiefly from Quaker Converts, to upwards of 700. And the People of that Province do earnestly desire to be supply'd with several Ministers more: as indeed I think the Field is there, and the Neighbouring Parts, so happily sown by the excellent Mr. Keith, that it is become now as ripe for Harvest, as in any part of the Christian World. And it being a main part of my Design in coming over at this time, to procure, and take back very speedily with me, right worthy Men, such as are capable to do the greatest good, I do earnestly desire, that if you know any Clergyman so qualified and alike Spirited as Characterized above in the Fifth Article, you would lay before him what Service he may do to the Church of God in those Parts, now that there is so happy a disposition therein to receive the Truth. I am

sorry that, in the present State I find that Church, which is but in its Infancy, I cannot promise that their Places will be very considerable, the Glebes which I have, and am about to get, being as yet uncultivated. But I can assure them, they may at this juncture be very Extraordinarily instrumental to the Glory of God, the best Argument I can use to such Persons as I want: and that which has been the great Motive, and sole Support during a five Years Service to those Churches, to him that uses it: Also that their Livings will be improvable, and that they shall find all possible Encouragement that may be contriv'd and procur'd by their most Affectionate Brother, and *Your most Faithful Servant*

THO. BRAY

A

MEMORIAL

Representing the present Case of the Church in *MARY-LAND* with relation to its establishment by Law.[50]

In the year 1691, His Majesty having graciously taken the Province of *Mary-Land*, formerly under the Government of the Lord *Baltemore* a Papist, under his immediate Protection: In *May* 1692 an Act of Assembly pass'd for the Establishment of the Protestant Religion therein, according to the Church of *England;* and for the dividing the 10 Counties of that Province into 30 Parishes, with a small Maintenance for a Minister in each Parish: But the Execution of that Law being suspended upon the death of Col. *Copley* [51] then Governor, upon the arrival of his Successor Governor *Nicholson*, the Law was revised, and Reinforced by another additional Act; and the same was sent home for the R. Assent; but that Law having had a Clause in it, giving to that Colony all the Privileges of *Magna Charta*, it was Rejected His Majesty at the same time signifying very great Reluctancy, that a Law of that Nature should be refused; and was most graciously pleased to order that Instructions should be sent to *Mary Land* to have it Revised and Re-enacted in the next Assembly without such Clause.

In the year 1696, the Law of Religion was pursuant to His Majesty's Instructions, Revised and Re-enacted, and was sent to the Lords of the Council of Trade, together with a most humble address, to be presented to his Majesty in the behalf of the said Law, requesting that if this Second should be found Exceptionable, Instructions might be sent from his Majesty directing them how to compose the same: But so it was, that this Second Law also, containing in it

matter of a different Nature, declaring all the Laws of *England* to be in force in *Mary-Land*, an order of Council pass'd *Nov.* 30, 1699, for the annulling of that Law.

Upon notice in *Maryland* that the Law for Religion was Revers'd, and consequently that the Province must be left destitute of a Protestant Ministry, and that at a juncture when more Popish Priests had of late come in than were ever before known in the Country at any one time, The Inhabitants were universally in a great Consternation, and their minds much Disquieted; and out of a singular Zeal for their Religion, did, in the next Assembly, with a *Nemine Contradicente* Re-enact the Law Purging it according to the best of their skill, of all the Clauses formerly excepted against, and have withal sent home the same to the Council of Trade; together with another Humble Address to be presented to His Majesty, expressing the earnest Desires of the whole Province, to have the Protestant Religion, according to the Church of *England* Establish'd, and its Ministry maintained amongst them. And the Council of *Mary-Land* have since, for the satisfaction of the Lords of Trade, sent home these their Reasons why they have Re-enacted the foresaid Law of Religion, *viz: That the greatest and most eminent part of the Province are earnestly Solicitous for Establishing our Religion: That it is their dearest Interest, and that with the greatest Joy, and most humble Acknowledgments they are sure it will be received by them, and all his Majestys good subjects there.*

This last Law amongst others of *Mary-Land* being considered by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and several Exceptions being made thereunto; upon this the Lords of Trade have prepared the draught of an Act to be sent over and offered to the next Assembly, which they had before so often Requested might be done; and which Draught the Quakers do now Petition against.

And indeed, the Sole Opposers of the Establishment of our Church and Clergy in that Province, are the Quakers;

and the three Principal Reasons urged by them, are, First, That they are the *Ancient Seaters* who were invited into the Province, and came there upon the expectations of Liberty of Conscience. Secondly, That Liberty of Conscience is granted by a Law of that Country to all who Profess to believe in Jesus Christ, under which they would be thought included. And, Thirdly, That they are a *considerable part of the People* by which they would insinuate, that it would be prejudicial to Trade; that they would be aggrieved by Payment of Church Dues. To which the Council of *Mary-Land* have answered to this effect. First, That so far were the Quakers, from being the Ancient Seaters, or at all invited to Seat there, that when they came in, they were ordered by publick Authority to be Whipt out for disturbing the Government, and refusing to bear a share in its Expenses. Secondly, That notwithstanding the Legal Establishment of the Church of *England* and the Maintenance of its Clergy, a Liberty of Conscience is allowed to them, and all Dissenters, according to Law. And tho' it has been often proved, that the Quakers Believe not in Jesus Christ nor truly any one article of the Christian Faith; yet it is far from the Endeavours and Desires of any of the Church, to infring them in that Legal Liberty which is given to any Dissenters. And, Lastly, That so far are the Quakers at this time from being *any considerable part, that they are confident they will not make a twelfth part of the Province.*

AND NOW UPON THE WHOLE OF THIS CASE, I HUMBLY CRAVE LEAVE TO REMARK.

1 That the Law for the Establishment of the Church of *England* and the Maintenance of its Clergy, is the Country's own Act; and if the general Inclination of a People can be at all concluded from the publick Acts of its Representatives, it must in this case be constru'd very much in favour of our Church and its Clergy, that notwithstanding such Difficulties, they should by four succeeding Laws Establish them, and twice Address in their behalf with a *Nemine Contradicente.*

2 That the Churches are now built throughout the Province, and it would be the utmost Disconsolation to all good Minds therein, to have their Churches turn'd into Popish Chappels or converted to any Prophane Use.

3 That a Clergy have been sent over Seas at the repeated Solicitations of the Country, who by several Letters sent from the Assembly, as well as from the Governor, did earnestly, press the Lord Bishop of *London*, and his *Commissary* to supply them therewith, giving all the assurance of an Establish'd Maintenance; without which, and to live precariously, Persons of Merit could not be prevailed upon to go so many thousand Miles: But upon the publick Faith and Credit of the Assemblies of that Province, have gone over.

4 His Majesty has been at very great Charges by several Royal Benefactions out of his Treasury in sending over Ministers: And the better to enable them who have been sent over to preach the Gospel, they have been fitted out with good *Libraries* to remain there for the Use of Them and their Successors for ever, by the Bounty of many of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry throughout the Kingdom, whose great Charity will be sunk, and the *Libraries* themselves rendred useless should the Clergy return home.

5. Should the Clergy be forc'd to return home, it will be an extream hardship upon those amongst them, who are Married, and have begun to settle; as also, in some measure to those who sent them.

6. But to be depriv'd of its Ministers, will be mor especially so to the Country, who do most heartily acknowledge how much the Face of things has been altered for the better, by the increase of Morality and Honesty amongst them since they have had a Clergy.

7. It does the more disquiet their Minds to think of having their Clergy recalled at a juncture, when the Popish Priests are pouring in amongst them (no less than six having come in last Year, more than were sent in of the Protestant Clergy,

to whom they are now in a manner equal, there having been six in before). And if upon the withdrawing of the Protestant Ministers, the Province should be left utterly destitute, and be totally delivered up to Popish Priests, their Condition would be most Disconsolate, or as they themselves do emphatically express it, *this would cause great disquiet in the minds of his Majestys good Subjects there.*

8. It may prove of fatal Consequence to His Majesty's Interest to have that Country, in the Center of all his Provinces, on the Continent of *America* exposed to the Perversions of the Popish Priests, at a juncture, when the French from *Canada* are so notoriously diligent in sending their Emissaries among the Indians, lying on the back of this, and other Colonies, to draw them into their Superstition and Alliance: Into whose Religion and Interests also should the Priests bring *Mary-Land*, it is obvious to any that know its Situation how that would affect all the English Plantations on the Continent.

9. If it be thought advisable not to disgust the *Quakers* who are but a twelfth part of the Province, lest it should be prejudicial to Trade, will it not be much more advisable, and that for the sake of Trade, not to disgust the *Protestants* who are ten twelfths (allowing the *Papists* as well as the Quakers to be one) it being plain from the Premises, that the *Quakers* one twelfth part, cannot have a greater Zeal against the Establishment of our Religion, than the *Protestants* who are ten twelfths, have for it.

10. The Quakers have not the least reason to complain upon the account of so small a Payment to the National Church, as the 40l. of Tobacco *per* Pole, they being very far, as appears before, from having been invited into the Province with promise of Liberty of Conscience, and who yet notwithstanding the Establishment of our Church, as the Country declares, and as by an express Clause is provided in the present Draught of the Bill to be sent over are permitted the QUIET AND PEACEABLE ENJOYMENT,

AND USE OF THEIR RELIGION WITHOUT THE LEAST MOLESTATION. And whereas they think it an Infringment to their Liberty, to pay Church Dues, I humbly conceive, where Liberty of Conscience is most allowed, as in *Holland*, the National Church has the Legal Maintenance at the Charge of all Perswasions. And in the Act of Toleration with us, there is a Proviso, that Quakers and others should pay the Church Dues.

Lastly. It is humbly Desired it may be considered, that the Maintenance of 40l. of Tobacco *per* Pole is so far from being justly invidious that it is as mean a support, as I believe is given to the Clergy in any Establish'd Church in the Christian World. It amounts not to above the 8tith part of the produce of that one Commodity of Tobacco; and there is nothing accrues from the increase of anything else; and after all, it raises but a very slender Maintenance to the Incumbent in a Parish of 30, 40, or 50 Miles in length and in all its Dimensions, larger than some English Counties. And yet with this small Support, because of the vastness of the Parishes, the Clergy are at extraordinary Expences, being obliged most of them to keep two Horses a piece to Ride into all the parts of their Cures, to discharge their Ministerial Duties of Preaching, Visiting, Christinings, and Funerals.

This tho' it be Notorious to those who know the Province; yet it is very observable with what secresy and industry the Quakers have dispersed amongst such as are in power; some Pamphlets which they call Answers to what I have publish'd; wherein they give a most false Computation of the Charges in maintaining the Clergy in *Mary-Land*. To render their Establishment the more invidious Mr. *Wyeth* [52] in answer to my Letter, does affirm that 4000l. sterling a Year has been taken or distrained in 8 Years for the Clergy of that Province; the Total of which Sum is 32000. To justify which Charge,

1. He computes the number of Taxables in the Province to be 24000.

2. He values the Tobacco, paid to the Clergy at 1d *per* pound; according to which Computation, the 40 pounds of Tobacco *per* Pole upon each Taxable, will amount to 32000l. But to prove the monstrous Falsity of this Computation and Charge in all its Parts, I averr as follows,

1 That the number of Taxables never yet amounted to above 12000 as can be made appear by the Testimony of an Honorable Person who was *Custos Rotulorum* of the Province; and consequently his 32000l. charged must be reduc'd to 15000l.

2 It is well known, that the value of publick Tobacco *Communibus Annis* is but 5 or 6s *per* hundred, and according to the law of Exchange or Barter for things sold for Tobacco, is but 5s *per* hundred; and if it be urg'd that this last Year some few of the Clergy did sell their Tobacco for 8 or 10s. it was meer accident, many Ships being then in the Country which wanted Freight. But on th' other side it often happens, that publick Tobacco can scarcely find those who will do much more than Ship it home. Now if we value the Tobacco paid to the Clergy at 6s *per* hundred, the Charge arising from 11000 Taxables will come to about 9000l.

3. Out of this 9000l. Thirty five Churches or Chappels have been Built, or at least the Taxes levied for the Building, which at the charge of 200l *per* Church, amounts to 7000l. and when the Deductions are made in every Parish of 5l. of Tobacco *per* hundred to the Sherriff for Collecting, and to the Parish Clark of 1000l for his Service, it will follow, that the personal Charge of the Clergy of that Province in 8 Years time has been under 2000l. so vastly distant from Truth are the Assertions of those impeccable Men the Quakers.

In Fact so far are we from rendring Religion, or the Ministers of it, burdensome to the Country, that all possible ways are contrived at home, to assist the Province in raising a sufficient Support and Encouragement for worthy, and able

Pastors to be sent amongst them, and to provide otherwise for the Edification of the People. To this purpose it is that Libraries have been already given to *Mary-Land* alone, to the value of near 2000l. and will be (if the Clergy continue there) made up to above 4000l. to enable them the better to Instruct their respective Cures. There is partly already, and will further be given to the value of many hundred Pounds in Bibles, Catechisms, and other practical Books to be distributed by the Ministers to the same end.

And that no kind of Assistance may be wanting to encourage a People so well deserving it, in their Endeavours to settle our Church amongst them, all possible Application is here used to raise a Support for Ministers also to be sent in to those Parishes in *Mary-Land* where the settled Maintenance is too too Slender.

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PART. I.

By *THOMAS BRAY*, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. H.* for *Robert Clavel*, at the *Peacock* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCXCVII.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THE Design of Publishing the following Proposals, and Catalogue, is in hopes that falling into the Hands of such who are Piously dispos'd, they may be thereby wrought upon to contribute towards the promoting the two best Things in the World, *Religion* and *Learning*, in those Parts which are most uncultivated therewith, the *American* Plantations.

And indeed it is scarcely to be imagin'd, that those Persons who are throughly season'd with true Piety, and are sensible of the inestimable Benefit which they themselves have received by the Preaching of the Gospel (by which alone they are distinguish'd from those Barbarous *Indians*, whose Spiritual Condition is truly deplorable; and whose Conversion is one thing herein aim'd at, as well as the Instruction of those of our own *Colonies*.) It is not to be Imagin'd, I say, but that they should be hearty Well-wishers to such a De-
(2) sign, and contribute so far as they are able, towards carrying it on. It was Emphatically spoke to St. *Peter* by our Blessed Saviour, *When thou art Converted, strengthen thy Brethren*, Luke 22. 32. For a Soul throughly Converted, and burning with a fervent Love to God, will not only wish well to the Labours of others, but by all possible means will it self endeavour, that the Image of that God he loves, may be imprest likewise upon other Mens Souls; and that all the World may joyn with him in the Adoration and Praises of that Blessed Saviour, from whom he does receive such unspeakable Benefits.

Now, in reference to our Foreign Plantations, the Subject of our present Concern, I humbly conceive, there is scarcely

any more effectual way to testifie our Love to God, or the Souls of Men, by promoting the Glory of the one, and contributing to the common Salvation of the other, than by imparting something towards the providing of such *Libraries* therein, whereby the Clergy sent thither, may be enabled to instruct those People in the Doctrines of sound Belief and good Morals; the two great constituent parts of Christianity.

For this in the first place, I will be bold to assert, That however some Persons, whose Enmity to the Clergy proceeds from their want of Love and Veneration to that God and Religion, to whom they do Minister (as is notorious, if we consider the Principles and Practices of those Men;) not-
(3) withstanding, I say, such are pleas'd to traduce the whole Order as useless, and a burden to the World; yet it is evidently owing to the Men of that *Tribe*, that Mankind has been so happily recover'd from the Ignorance, Barbarity, and Brutish Manners into which it was sunk; and that Licentiousness, Rapine and Violence have given way to Purity, Justice and Humanity in those parts of the World where Pure and Genuine Christianity is taught; Nay, and it is owing to them, that where Humane Sacrifices were once offered, now the *Reasonable Service* that the Gospel prescribes, which is *to live Soberly, Righteously, and Godly*, has prevail'd in the World; and that where whole Provinces were Slaves to the Devil, they are now the Servants of God. And should a Nation, through the heavy Judgment of Heaven, become destitute of a Learned and a Pious Clergy, and be delivered up to the Malignant Principles of those who hate the Profession; Good God, to what Impurities, Rapines and Murders must such a wretched People be inevitably expos'd! Such an inestimable Benefit to Mankind, are a Clergy that do throughly understand, and industriously preach the Genuine Doctines of Christianity.

Next, I presume I may safely assume this, that as the Clergy are more or less useful to those Excellent Ends of

Improving and Perfecting the Minds of Men, accordingly as they are more or less Masters themselves of that Divine Knowledge which they are to Teach others; so it is not
(4) possible according to the present Dispensation of Divine Providence, that they should throughly understand it themselves, without the help of such Books as treat of all the Sacred Truths of Christianity. For now the Gospel being fully reveal'd, *Inspiration* is ceas'd, and Persons of all sorts, Clergy as well as Laity, are left to Study and Reading, as the only Means, whereby, together with God's Blessing, they can attain to that measure thereof, which is sufficient to inform themselves and others.

And therefore Lastly, from hence it does follow, that such Charitable Persons as shall contribute towards the furnishing of the Clergy design'd for the *English Colonies* abroad, with such means of Knowledge, as we propose, cannot but have a proportionable share both in the Vertue and in the Reward of that Blessed Work, whereby God's Kingdom is exalted in the World, and the Devil dispossess'd of that Usurp'd Dominion he has gain'd over so great a part thereof. Such will in some measure, be accounted to have been *Evangelists* themselves, and will partake in the Reward of those who have *turned many to Righteousness*, by carrying the Gospel to other Nations.

And who is it that is piously Ambitious of being high in the Favour and Love of God, and of being exalted to a higher Station amongst the Blessed Saints above, that would not at the Charge of a Moderate Benefaction, be so Instrumental as this may render him, towards the Salvation of a considerable part of Mankind? The *Apostles* we do all know, are to *sit upon Twelve*
(5) *Thrones judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel.* And wherefore is it that they shall be thus Honoured above all Men, but because they were the Grand Propagators of Christianity, *and spar'd not to spend, and be spent* in that Service, 2 *Cor.* 12. 14. to reduce Mankind to the Obedience of God? And may not then those Persons expect a proportionable degree of

Honour and Reward above their Brethren, who shall offer of their Substance towards the same Noble and Blessed End? Charity, indeed of whatsoever kind it be, will have its Reward. He that gives Alms to the Poor, He that Cloaths the Naked, or Feeds the Hungry, will find it upon his Account at the Day of Judgment. But then as there are different ways of doing Good; so to provide Spiritual Food for the Souls of Men, is a Charity of as much a more exalted Nature, as the Spirit is more Excellent than the Body.

Nor will this Charity terminate only on the Minds of those that receive it, but will also have a most happy Influence to the procuring of their Bodily Comforts, for wheresoever the Gospel of our Saviour prevails, it takes off that Ferity of Nature whereby Mankind become Beasts of Prey, even Wolves and Tygers, to one another, and renders 'em Benign and Kind to all those who have to do with 'em; and ready to do all manner of good Offices to their Brethren in Humane Nature. So that you may ever observe, that proportionably as Divine Knowledge prevails in the World, in the same degrees do Barbarity, Rapine,
(6) Violence and Brutality decrease, and Humanity, Justice and Order gain ground amongst Men. And if the Authors from whence this Knowledge is deriv'd, are not corrupted with such Principles as undermine Morality (which is visible in the Writings of some sort of Men) the tendency of Christian Books, as such, is to improve Mankind in all the Faculties and Powers of Soul and Body, to a similitude with the Holy Angels themselves; and indeed to render 'em Partakers of the Divine Nature.

This I say, if the Authors from whence this Knowledge is deriv'd, be themselves good; for Men are generally such in their Principles, Tempers, and Dispositions, as the Books and Company are with which they Converse, since *Evil Communications* in either way *do Corrupt good Manners:* but such as do truly represent the Nature of that Covenant we have

made with God in our Baptism, and do shew us from thence, the indispensable Obligation lying upon us to a Holy Life; such as do set forth the Principles of our Religion as the most forcible Motives to live according to the Dictates of Right Reason, and the Improvements of Revelation; such Authors as these do manifestly tend, not to Debauch the Manners, but to Improve the Morals of Mankind, to that degree, as to bring down a kind of Heaven here upon Earth, and to render the Inhabitants thereof Guardian-Angels to one another.

(7) And this has been the great Aim in that Collection of Books here Recommended, as proper to enable our Clergy to Advance the Blessed Work proposed in those Plantations where they are to Minister. It is hard to be answerable for every thing contain'd in all of 'em. There is no Humane Writing free from Faults or Defects in some kind or other; But however there are no Errors in any of those Books here Propos'd, which the Orthodoxy of others in the Catalogue will not rectifie. And take 'em in the whole Bulk, they are thought to be some of the most useful in their kind, to give a competent Understanding of the whole Body of Christianity, and all its Parts. And as it is endeavoured, together with the Catalogue of Books here exhibited, to give a Scheme of Christian Truths in that Order wherein they do most naturally lie; so the very studying of 'em in such a Method, may probably tend, not a little to the Improvement of our *American Clergy* in Christian Knowledge, and to enable 'em the better to Edifie others. For as the Studying of any Science incoherently, begets nothing but Confus'd Apprehensions of things in our own Minds; so it will render us incapable to give clear and adequate Representations thereof to other Men.

And indeed it ought not to be dissembled, that this Catalogue is published with some design to help our Young Students in Theology, even on this side the Water, since it may be a piece of Service to some of them, to direct 'em in

(8) the Choice of such Books, as will be of most necessary and immediate use to them in their Ministerial Instructions to the People, and which yet by the brevity of the Catalogue may be had, (some one at least on each Head) without any great and insupportable Charge. True it is, there have been various Methods of Study given us by learned Men, with a List of those Authors they would Recommend to our use: But it is the general Complaint, that few or none seem to have Adapted their Catalogues to the *Proper* and *Immediate* Business of a Parish Minister, as he is one who must instruct his People in all things belonging to his Salvation; much less to the Circumstances of the greatest part of that Body, whose small Livings, especially if they have Families, will not afford 'em wherewith to Purchase a third part of the Books Recommended to them in those Catalogues.

Nor indeed, if they could buy them, would it be very agreeable to the Nature of their Business to do it; for either these learned Directors give us Lists of all the Authors that have Writ upon each Subject, or at least of as many as they have perus'd and read themselves, and this generally through all the general parts of Learning, however remote and unnecessary to the particular business of a Preacher of Catechist; or if they have confin'd their Catalogues to such Books as are more *Immediately* Useful and Practical, yet they do not seem to have design'd 'em in any great Order, whereby the *Rationale* of their Catalogue may clearly ap-
(9) pear with respect to a Parish Minister, as if they intended thereby a Provision, especially for a through and entire Information of Teacher or Hearer in all the necessary and essential points of Christianity And hence it is that many Young Divines, if you come to examine their shelves, will be found either to have laid out what they could spare, in Books of a more remote concern, and thereby to have disenabled themselves to purchase those of a more immediate Importance. Or if they have expended their small Stock in Practical Divinity, yet their Collection will seem to be

very *Rickety*, having a great redundance in Authors upon some points, and as great a deficiency on others. Whereas those in the mean Livings by cutting off Superfluities, might be able by degrees to purchase one or two Books at least, upon every of those Heads of Doctrine wherein it is necessary they should instruct the People; and for want of which, all the *Terms* of the *Baptismal Covenant*, are scarcely Preach'd over to them in many places, I fear, in the whole Course of some Mens Ministry.

And probably it is from this Observation, that some have been so importunate with me to Print the following Catalogue of Books design'd for Parochial Libraries in the Foreign Plantations, upon which consideration I hope, it will not be imputed to me, as Arrogance, to offer what looks like a Direction in this case, especially when it is to my Brethren of the lowest Form in the Church that I do herein apply my self.

(10) And yet so far am I from assuming to Dictate what Books, it may be sufficient, even for the most Inferior Rank of our *English* Divines to read, that I do thus far *Retract* what I have said with respect to any advanced to Holy Orders in this part of the World, where good Literature does so much flourish, and makes such a distinction in the value we put upon Men, that I do freely acknowledge it were much to be wisht that every one of the Clergy here in *England*, should *Launch out far* into the vast Ocean of Universal Learning. For besides that we live here in a very Inquisitive Age, wherein Persons of all Ranks and Professions have arriv'd to great Attainments in all the parts of Knowledge; and it is not a little indecent to see a Gowns-Man, whose very Garb denotes him one Devoted to Study, outdone by any ordinary Laik, in *Philology*, *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Antiquity*, or any part of useful Learning (except by Persons in their own proper Profession, to whom it is as decent on the other side to submit) besides this, I say, the Business of a Divine is of that comprehensive extent, that good Skill even in Nature,

Mathematicks and Laws, which may seem most remote from his Business, is not only Accessary and Ornamental to his Profession, but of exceeding great use for the Explication and Proof of some of the principal Subjects he is to Discourse upon to the People, and also for the Defence of the most *Fundamental Articles* of Faith, that he is to maintain against the *Atheist* and *Anti-scripturist.*

(11) The Knowledge of *Nature* affords the best, the plainest, and the most demonstrative Proofs of the Existence, and Providence of God, to the Establishing of our Faith, and the Raising the Admiration and Devotion towards the Divine Majesty, both of the most Intelligent and of the Meanest of the People. *Mathematical* Knowledge is in some measure necessary, to enable one to give a Rational Account of the Truth of the *Mosaick History* of the Creation and Deluge; and to answer the Cavils and Exceptions of the Superficial and Half-learned Atheist, (as has in the Instance of the Ark, been unanswerably done by Bishop *Wilkins*,[49] and in the like Cases by other Pens.) And a competent Knowledge of the *Laws*, especially of the *Civil Law*, and of the Law of *Nations*, enables a Divine with the most convincing Arguments and Reasons to Establish the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction, one of the principal Articles of Reveal'd Religion. Insomuch that *Crellius* [50] himself confess'd before his Death, that he had never Written against *Grotius* upon that Subject, had he first seen his Chapter *de Communicatione paenarum.* And indeed, many of the Social Duties of the Civil Life, are not likely to be so exactly stated by any, as by one well acquainted with the Laws and Customs of Nations. So that it is very requisite, that every Pastor of a Flock, especially in this Curious and Incredulous part of the World,

Didici, paulo antequam moreretur, dixisse Crellium, se nunquam contra me Scripturum fuisse, si ante Scriptionem legisset mea de penarum Communicatione in Jure Belli & Pacis Ep. 556. 2 *parte.*

(12) should give himself up to farther Enquiries into Universal

Learning, still making this his Rule, that he spends most of his Time and of his Thoughts upon what is Essential and immediately necessary to Man's Salvation, *viz.* the Terms of the Covenant of Grace; since to pursue any other Knowledge to the neglect of this, would in him be to gratifie a sinful Curiosity.

But as for those who are to serve in the Plantations, I do no not at this distance foresee the necessity of their being provided of more than such a Sett of Books, as shall be of absolute necessity to enable 'em to declare the whole Will of God, so as may suffice to the Information of Plain and Illiterate Men, that so they may be able with St. *Paul*, speaking to his Converts, to call the Consciences of those committed to their Charge, to attest also to them, that they *are pure from the Blood of all Men, not having shunned to declare unto them all the Counsel of God.* Not but that we could wish to have one Library of more Universal Learning, to have recourse to upon occasion, in every *Province*, and shall especially endeavour to have one in the College which is now Erecting in *Virginia*, by the Favour and Bounty of his most Excellent Majesty and our late B. Queen,[50a] and by the Liberal Benefactions of many Right Reverend, Noble, and Generous Persons, and by the Especial Industry, Care, and Expence of one of the best *Provincial Governours* in the World.

But however, as it is fit we should be contented with small
13) Beginnings, so we shall be deeply sensible of what Assistance shall be given us towards *Parochial Libraries*, and shall study in all manner of ways to express our Gratitude to our Benefactors for the same: particularly, as in order to the preservation of those Books, besides the Lettering upon their Covers to what Parish they belong, and the making of several Registers of 'em; one to be left with our most Honoured Diocesan the *Lord Bishop* of *London;* one with His Majesty's *Governour* in each Province; one with the *Suffragan* or *Commissary;* and one to be deposited in the

Vestry of each Parish; as all this to preserve 'em from Loss or Imbezelment, or in order to recover 'em if any wise diminished; so in *gratam rei Memoriam*, there will be moreover added in each of these Registers, a List of our Benefactors, and of their respective Benefactions.

But that which I am sure will be most grateful to such Lovers of Religion and useful Learning, we will by the Grace of God, make that good use of 'em we ought, to the purposes design'd. We shall indeed think it hard to be sent to Work in the *Brik-kilnes* without our Allowance of *Straw*, but give us Materials and Tools, and we'll endeavour to be answerable to God and Man for our *Fidelity and Labour*.

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(121) *PROPOSALS* [51]

FOR the Incouragement and Promoting of Religion and Learning in the Foreign Plantations; And to Induce such of the Clergy of this Kingdom, as are Persons of Sobriety and Abilities to accept of a Mission into those Parts.

WHEREAS *the Propagation of the Christian Faith, and the Increase of Divine Knowledge, amongst all sorts of Persons in His Majesty's Foreign Plantations, are the Wishes, Desires, and Prayers, of all Pious and Serious Christians, and such as are Zealous of God's Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls.* AND WHEREAS *that Blessed Work, next under God, does principally depend upon the Abilities of the Clergy in those Parts, the Exemplariness of their Lives, and their Industry in Teaching others;* WHEREAS ALSO *the Clergy, that are already in the Plantations, as well as those who are to be sent thither, cannot (Humanly speaking) be so capable of Informing themselves,*
(122) *and of Instructing others in the design of Christianity, in the Nature of the Covenant of Grace, in the Meaning and Importance of the Articles of our most Holy Faith, and in*

the Nature and Extent of all Christian Duties, without the Assistance of some good Commentators upon the Holy Scriptures; and one, at least, or more of those Authors, who have best treated upon each, and every of those Points. WHEREAS ALSO *for the supply of that Want, Men of Parts and addicted to Study, will hardly be induced to leave the Expectations they may have of better Encouragement and Improvement in their Native Country, to go to remote Parts and Climates less agreeable, without such Advantages, as will over-balance all Considerations inclining 'em to stay at home; and, especially, not without a competent Provision of such Books, as are necessary for their Studies in those Places where they are to Serve: (Few of them that go over from hence, being able to furnish themselves with so many Books as they shall need.)* AND, LASTLY, WHEREAS *Insufficiency and Scandal in the Clergy of those places, in all probability, would be most successfully prevented, both in this and future Ages, should every Parochial Minister in the Plantations have a sufficient Library of well-chosen Books, of all those kinds before-mentioned, in which he might spend his time to his own Satisfaction, and with Improvement and Profit to himself and others.*

TO PROMOTE THEREFORE *so Blessed and Noble an End, as the propagation of Christian Knowledge in those Parts; and as well to encourage those who are there already employ'd in the Ministry; as also to invite over other able Ministers, and to furnish both, with proper Means for accomplish-*
23) *ing so good a Work;* IT IS HUMBLY *offered to all that are hearty Well-wishers to the Souls of Men, and the Honour of their Saviour, to consider, and as they shall see Cause, to favour these Proposals following.*

1. THAT *a Catalogue being made of what particular Books are judg'd most immediately and necessarily Useful, for a Parochial Minister, wherewith he may be sufficiently enabled both to Inform himself, and to Instruct others, in all the Necessary and Essential parts of Christianity; so many of*

such Libraries be sent by the Lord Bishop of London, *by the Hands of such as his Lordship shall Commission for that purpose, to be Appropriated and Affixed, one to each Parish in the Foreign Plantations, particularly those of* Mary-Land, *and farther as the Fund to be raised shall enable.*

2. THAT *every Parochial Library shall be Affixed in a decent and large Room of the Parsonage-House of such Parish, there to remain to the sole Use of the Minister thereof for the time being, unto all future Generations, and to be as* UNALLIENABLE *as any other the Rights and Dues of the Church, which are Ascertained by Law.*

3. THAT *in Order to the Preservation of every such Library to succeeding Ages without Loss (as far as can be Humanly provided in any thing of that kind) there be made an exact*
(124) *Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library of each Parish; and that every such Catalogue be fairly written in four Books of Vellum provided for that purpose: The first whereof to be left with the Lord Bishop of* London *for the time being; a second with his* Comissary, *or some chief Clergyman in every of those Plantations where such Libraries are provided; and a third to remain in the respective Libraries themselves: and a fourth to be deposited in the* Vestry *of each of the said Parishes.*

4. THAT *the* COMMISSARY *be obliged, at least once in three Years, Personally to make a* Parochial Visitation; *And then, besides the Charge of his Duty in other respects, that it be incumbent also upon him, particularly to Inspect the* Parochial Libraries, *and to see that none of the Books be Imbezell'd or Lost: And that the Church-Wardens of each Parish be also obliged, every Year, before the Visitation, to inform themselves in what Condition the said Books are, and to Present accordingly at the Visitation.*

5. THAT *for further Security to preserve them from Loss and Imbezelment, and that they may be known where-ever they are found; in every Book, on the one side of the Cover, shall be Letter'd these Words,* SUB AUSPICIIS WILLIELMI

III. *on the other side the Name of the Parish to which these Books do belong:* EX. GR. E. BIBLIOTHECA DE MARY-TOWN: E. BIBLIOTHECA DE JAMES-TOWN, *&c.*

6. THAT *the Minister of each Parish, his Heirs and Administrators, may be obliged, by Virtue of an Act of Assembly provided and made for that purpose, to make good what Books shall be Imbezelled or Lost by his fault.*

(125) MEANS of obtaining such Parochial Libraries.

1. *That Application be made to the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, for their Charitable Contributions to so Pious a Work; and especially that the Merchants and Traders to the Foreign Plantations be earnestly call'd upon, as Persons principally concern'd, to encourage this Design: It being most reasonable to expect, that in Gratitude to God, and the Inhabitants of those Plantations, the* more plentifully they have reaped of their Temporal Things, the more liberally they should sow to them in Spiritual Things.

2. *That Application be also made to such Learned Authors as are now living, that they would bestow some of their own Books, which shall be judged useful to the Purposes aforesaid.* Lastly, *In Gratitude to the Benefactors towards this Pious Design, all those who shall Contribute any thing thereunto, shall have their Names and respective Summs; And the Authors shall have the number of Books given by 'em, transmitted to Posterity, by being Registred in Books kept for that purpose in each of the Libraries, and deposited in the* Vestry *of every Parish.*

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APPENDIX

AND

NOTES.

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AN

ANSWER

TO A

LETTER

FROM

Dr. *BRAY*,

Directed to such as have contributed towards the Propagating

Christian Knowledge

IN THE

PLANTATIONS.

By JOSEPH WYETH.

LONDON, Printed and Sold by *T. Sowle*, in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-street*, 1700.

AN

ANSWER

TO A

LETTER

From Dr. *Bray*.[57]

Being one of those who are heartily Desirous that *Christian Knowledge* be propagated in the *Plantations*, and have in my small Proportion, contributed thereto; I suppose my self to come within the compass of the Doctor's Direction, and as such, have some kind of Right to Read and Consider his Letter, and also to Reply to it, upon finding him either *Mistaken* or *Partial;* and I cannot avoid thinking he is both. *Partial*, in attempting to break the common Liberty of the People of *Maryland*, for the private Advantage of a few Clergy-men: *Mistaken*, not only in calling his Attempt by the glorious Title of *Promoting Christian Knowledge*, but also, in the Way and Means to effect it; and therefore have given my self the trouble of the following Papers, to contribute yet farther, if it may be, to undeceive any who may be misled by the Doctor's *Letter*, which I shall consider chiefly under two General Heads.

First, *With respect to the* Design.

Secondly, *The Method by him proposed to carry on and effect the* Design.

First, The *Design* it self; The Doctor, p. 1. and in his first Paragraph, says, is *for the Destruction of the Powers of Darkness, and the Enlargement of Christ's Kingdom in his Majesty's Plantations.*

This *Design*, when real, and not pretended only, is a *Design* so Noble, Just and Honourable, that it is worthy the hearty Encouragement of all Faithful Christians; and all such cannot but think themselves engaged to Contribute, according to their several Capacities, for the effecting of it; because, that in the Progress of this Work, it makes *Governours* and *Government* Secure and Easie; it makes *Families* Sober and Industrious; it makes *Societies* Pleasant and Profitable; in fine, it makes all Happy; by taking from the several Orders of Men, that irregular Passion, which is the ground both of Sin and Strife. But as best things, when corrupted, prove the worse, by adding Malignity to their Degeneracy; so the noblest of Designs may be pretended to cover very contrary Intentions: Thus the Doctor, under the specious Pretence of the *Destruction of the Powers of Darkness*, hath plainly endeavoured the *Destruction of the Power of Christian Liberty;* and under the pretence of *Enlarging Christ's Kingdom*, hath shewn his zealous endeavour for the *Enlarging Anti-scriptural Hierarchy*, and *Secular Power*, in the Person of the Priest; not barely to the prejudice of *Christian Knowledge*, but positively against the end and design of the Gospel of Peace, which Jesus Christ is the Author of, and which the Apostles preached: And therefore it cannot be unacceptable to every Contributer, to the Advancement of *Christian Knowledge*, to see the Fallacy of the Pretence detected; by shewing, that instead of that Excellent Design, the bottom is, as the Apostle has it, to *seek their own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's.*

Phil. 2. 21.

As to the first of these, *viz.* the *Destruction of the Power of Christian Liberty*, the Doctor has plainly shewn his Endeavour and Aim, in these words, 'Now that the *Quakers* are openly, 'and the *Papists* more *covertly*, making their utmost Efforts 'against the *Establishment of our Church*, by false Repre-'sentations at home, of the Numbers and Riches of their 'Party; and by insinuating, that to *Impose* upon them an '*established Maintenance* for the Clergy, would be prejudicial

Letter, p. 1. *Art.* 3.

'to the Interest of the Province, by obliging so many wealthy 'Traders to remove from thence: the Falsity of which, they '(*the Clergy*) thought me best able to make appear.

The Apostles, when they *established Churches* in the Faith, they tell us, *They delivered them the Decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders which were at* Jerusalem.

16. 4.

These Decrees were few and short; and among them there is no mention of *imposing* a Maintenance: I will recite them. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burthen than these necessary things; That ye abstain from Meats offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from things Strangled, and from Fornication: From which, if you keep your selves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.*

cts 16. 28, 29.

And if the Doctor had sought the *Establishment of his Church*, by the delivering of these Decrees, and pressing with the greatest Earnestness, the necessity of a *Holy Life*, he might rest himself most firmly assured, that the Quakers never did, nor will ever oppose such an *Apostolick Establishment:* But if the *Establishment of his Church*, must be upon the Ruine of the Temporal Estates of those, who agree not with him in Worship, in removing that Security, which the Priviledges of their first Settlements, and the Sanction of a Law, hath given them: He ought not to take it ill, that we openly oppose that.

As for any *Covert* Opposition, or any Opposition at all made, by Papists, to the Doctor's *Establishment*, I know of none, nor cannot at present find a reason why they should disagree; unless it were upon the Question, Who shall be the *Receivers* of the *Maintenance?* But with this I care not now farther to trouble my self; but shall proceed to shew, that this *Christian Liberty*, which the Doctor would now destroy, was very earlily provided for, by a Law made in that Province, and confirmed by the Government here, and bears date the 6th of *August*, 1650.[58] which Law is entituled, *A Law of* Maryland *for Religion:* In which,

among other things, it is said, 'And whereas the inforcing 'the Conscience, in matters of Religion, hath frequently fallen 'out to be of dangerous Consequence, in those *Commonwealths* 'where it hath been practiced; and for the more quiet and 'peaceable Government of this Province, and the better to 'preserve mutual Love and Unity amongst the Inhabitants 'here: Be it therefore also, by the Lord Proprietary, with 'the Advice and Assent of this Assembly, Ordained and 'Enacted, except as in this present Act is before declared and 'set forth, that no Person or Persons, within this Province, 'or the Islands, Ports, Harbours, Creeks, or Havens, there-'unto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, 'shall not, from henceforth, be any ways troubled, molested, 'or discountenanced, for, or in respect, of his or her Religion, 'nor in the free Exercise thereof, within this Province, or 'the Islands thereunto belonging; nor *any way compell'd* to 'the *Belief* or Exercise of any other Religion, against his 'or her Consent. And after a Clause, for the Security of the Civil Government, it goes on, 'And that all, and every 'Person and Person that shall presume, contrary to this 'Act, and the true Intent and Meaning thereof, directly or 'indirectly, either in *Person* or *Estate*, wilfully to Wrong, 'Disturb, Trouble or Molest, any Person or Persons what-'soever, within this Province, professing to *believe in Jesus* '*Christ*, for or in respect of his or her Religion, or the free 'Exercise thereof, within this Province, otherwise than is 'provided for in this Act, that such Person or Persons, so 'offending, shall be compell'd to pay treble Damages to the 'Party so Wronged or Molested, &c.

Whosoever, that is not strangely bigotted to *Persecution* and *Imposing*, must, upon reading of this *Law*, agree with the Doctor in his Character of the People of *Maryland:* 'They 'are, says he, generally observed to be a People of quick 'Parts, and good Intellectuals. I am sure, to me, this is an Argument that they are so. For in this Law, they secured a *Scripture Belief*, and preserv'd a Liberty, which the Apostle

Letter, p. 2.

hints at, when he says, *Who art thou that judgest another Man's*
Rom. 14. 4. *Servant? To his own Master he standeth or falleth: Yea, he shall be holden up: For God is able to make him stand.*

In this they did very prudently: For hereby all Professors of Christianity stood upon the same foot of Advantage; none, as Christian, had Power of *Imposing a Maintenance* from others, each were free to establish Churches, and maintain Ministers (if they would) for themselves. And if those, who Labour in the Word and Doctrine, Labour in a Gospel Spirit, and Live according, they need never fear but the People they Labour amongst will chearfully supply their Necessities; for which they have the promise of *Jesus Christ*, if they have Faith enough to depend upon it. But to proceed, This *Legal Security*, and some other Previous Advantages, was both Incouragement and Protection for some early Planters, to settle in that Province; among which, with the Doctor's leave, some, not of the Latest, nor most Inconsiderable, were *Quakers;* whose Christian Sobriety, and Rational Diligence, has been of no small Advantage to the publick Advantage of that Province, as well as the increasing Revenue of this Crown: The first, their Ingenuous Neighbours will acknowledge; and of the last, there are some Witnesses here, who also are much better Judges than the Doctor, what Prejudice, both to the Revenue of this Crown, and the Good of that Province, their removal would be.

But that I may, if possible, open the Doctor's Eyes in this Question, I will set before them a short Scheme and Estimate of that Violation, which has repeatedly been offered to the Priviledges of the Law before-mentioned, and which has been as often refused to be Confirm'd by the Government here. In order to which, I must first acquaint my Reader, That the *Law* of Maryland, for *Religion*, before-mentioned, did continue to be the Peoples common *Land-mark* of Liberty, from the date of its Confirmation, till *Anno* 1692.[59] at which time some, either not liking their common Freedom of Religion, with the rest of the Inhabitants; or else not

willing to Maintain singly their own Chargeable Clergy, did, with the help of the then Governour *Coply*, get an Act, to *Impose* upon all others to Maintain them; and was entituled, *An Act for the Service of Almighty God, and Establishment of the Protestant Religion, &c.* This was sent over hither for to be confirmed, but when tender'd to the King and Council for that end, (which was five Years after it was brought over, but was kept Dormant, because that till it was disallowed, it had the Force of a Law, and accordingly they made Distraints by Vertue of it) it was disallowed, as contrary to the *Law of Religion* above-cited, and the Repeal sent over. This did not discourage that Party, but that they procur'd another Act, of the same Title, and to the same purpose, and sent it over to be Confirm'd: This also the King in Council disallowed, *Anno* 1699.

At the time when this Repeal and Disallowance was sent over, Doctor *Bray* also went, and did so effectually bestir himself, that with the Assistance of the Clergy, *&c.* they, in *Contradiction* to the repeated Disallowance of the King and Council, to their Law, have again renewed the said Act in Substance, and have made the Title yet narrower than the two former: They were for the *Establishment of the Protestant Religion;* but this is for the *Establishment of Religion in this Province, according to the Church of* England. The first, it's true, was the most Charitable Title, but yet it serv'd to the same purpose, and was expounded as the last.

In this Law, among other things (after their former Patterns) it is enacted, 'That for the Incouragement of faithful and 'able Ministers, labouring in the Work of the Gospel, to 'come and reside in this Province, instead of such *Tythes* 'usually in *England*, as aforesaid, a Tax or Assessment of '40l. of *Tobacco per* Poll, be Yearly, and every Year succes-'sively, levied upon every Taxable Person, within each 'respective Parish, within this Province.

By *Taxable Persons*, is understood, all Males of sixteen Years, and upwards, to sixty; of white Persons, and all, both Men and Women, Blacks of the like Ages.

Now for the drawing of the Scheme and Estimate, which I promised, I shall suppose (for with respect to Number, I can do no more, unless I had the Assistance of the Doctor's *Tabula Prima*, &c. of which more anon) that the Heads of Families, who differ in Worship from *Episcopacy*, their Children and Servants, both White and Black, which are Taxable, may be in Number 6000. (and I think I am not much mistaken in this Supputation, because the Doctor, in his *Circular Letter* to the Clergy of *Maryland*, at the end of his piece entituled, *Apostolick Charity*, printed this Year 1700. hath these words, *Especially the Papists and Quakers, which I understand are numerous amongst you;* which intimate, there are others who differ from them, though these named may be most numerous) the Yearly Assessment of these, at 40l. of *Tobacco per* Poll, valuing the Tobacco, *communibus annis*, at a Penny a Pound, (tho' some Years since 1692. it has been double that Price) it amouts to One Thousand Pound Sterling a Year: Which is no inconsiderable Sum, to be taken and distrained Annually, for eight Years, as this has been, on pretence for the *Service of Almighty God*, by colour of Laws disallowed by Authority.

But as the Assessments above-mentioned, of 40l. of *Tobacco per* Poll, hath been gathered by Laws disallowed, so it is some degree of Injustice, to constrain, even those who owned their Ministry, to give them such a certain Portion; which Assessments being added to the former, will make up, according to the Information I have, a Sum three times the former; the whole Number of Taxable Persons being supposed to be about 24000. by which Computation, 4000 Pounds Sterling a Year, has been taken or distrained, for 8 Years, for the Clergy of that Province. The Total of which Sum is, 32000 Pounds; and the Doctor tells us, there *is but* 16 *Ministers*, and *the Churches but lately built*, and that *to the great Charge of the Governour* Nicholson, *and the Country*.

That it has been to their great Charge, is likely very true, for if each of these 16 Ministers had for the past 8 Years, 100l. *per Annum*, that will make the Sum of..... l. 12800

Then for Building Churches, and petty Expences, if at least it has been so expended..... 19200

Total 32000

Reader, Is not this a notable Burthen to Intail upon a Country, and a ready way to Cramp the Industry of its Inhabitants; and thereby prejudice the Revenue of the Crown?

Now Doctor, as our King is the common Father of his People, and hath carefully executed his distributive Justice, How is it consistent with that, and with the *established Priviledge* of that Province, to seek to draw his Authority to colour the *Violence* of a few, who in their desire, shew themselves more bent on the Spoil of their Neighbours, and the enslaving of the People, than either the *Glory and Service of Almighty God*, or the *Common Good of that Province?*

Having shewn briefly, that the Doctor's Design of *Imposing*, is quite contrary to the Settlement of that Province, to the Will of this Government, as appears in the *Disallowances* before-mentioned, and to the common Good of the People there.

I must bestow a few Lines, to shew the Inconsistency of that Design, of *Imposing*, with the Design of Christianity; and which I cannot better begin, than with the Account of our Saviour, who it is said, *In the last Day, that great Day of the Feast, stood, and cried, saying, If any Man thirst, let him come unto me and drink:* But he did not *Impose* it upon any; and as Himself did not *Impose* upon any, so the Precepts which he gave his Apostles were agreeable; for in great Simplicity and Poverty he sent them forth (*a*) to Preach the Gospel; and does particularly observe to them, that he (*b*) *sent them forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves.*

John 7. 37.

(a) Matth. 10. 1. Mar. 6. 7.

(b) Matth. 10. 16.

But when Men, who pretend to be their Successors, shall by Force *Impose* upon the People to Maintain them, it is proper to read; *They are sent forth as Wolves in the midst of Sheep;* and then, who sent them is no difficult thing to know. But, as our Saviour Jesus Christ did not *Impose* himself upon any, neither his Disciples, so they left no Precept that any of their Followers should; and their Example was of so much force in Primitive Times, that at a Synod held in *Ireland*, about the Years 450, or 456, it was ordained,* 'That neither the Alms of Christians Excommunicated, nor 'which the Gentiles gave, should be received into the Church. And in times acknowledged to be yet Grosser, and more Dark, viz. about the Year 600, they had yet retained so much of true Christianity in practice, if at least we may credit our Historian, (*b*) That *Austine*,[62] and those that came with him, *began* (it had been well if they, and all their Successors, had continued) *to imitate the Apostolick Life of the Primitive Church.* And he particularly mentions their great *Constancy* and Self-denial, shewing forth in their Lives, the excellency of their Doctrine, that they received necessary Food, only from those whom they Taught.

* *Concilia*, &c. Hen. Spelman, *tom.* I, p. 52. Can. 11, 12.[61]

(b) *Beda lib.* I. c. 25.

These few Instances are sufficient to shew the Inconsistency of the Doctor's Pretence to *Apostolick Charity*, with *Imposing* a Maintenance; and that his *Design* of so doing, is contrary to the Gospel of Christ; It was in free Love, and without the expectation or possibility of Reward, that our Saviour hath put us into a Capacity of Salvation, and it is *freely* and without expectation of Reward from Man; that his Ministers are the Messengers of that Glad tidings: And all those whose Commissions are of the same Tenure with the *Apostles, on such a *necessity* is laid, yea, *Wo* is unto them if they Preach not the Gospel; they skill not, in selling the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, no more than *Peter* did.

Acts, 26.18. I. Cor. 9.16.

Thus far, with respect to the Doctor's Design; and next, to the other General Head, which I proposed, *viz. The Method by him proposed to carry on and effect that* Design; which

will fall under a two-fold consideration; *1st*, As it respects the People of the Province: *2dly*, As it respects his Clergy there.

And first, for the Doctor's Method to *Propagate Christian Knowledge*, as it respects the People, which I will give in his own words, 'By the returns given in (says he) upon my 'Tabula prima Parochialium inquirendorum, by which, when 'they shall be all sent in, I shall be inabled to give an 'account of the Names of all Heads of Families, and of 'the Religion and Morals of every individual Man, Woman 'and Child, Freeman and Slave, White and Black, through-'out *Maryland*.

Letter p. 1. *Par.* 3.

This is, it seems, the Doctor's *Method* and *Undertaking*, and a very *remarkable* one it is; but I cannot forbear asking him, Whence the Pattern of this his *Tabula prima?* All the Acts of the Apostles has nothing like it; they, Holy Men, were not so solicitous of the Names and Numbers of the People in a Province, as they were, that those who had given up their Names for to be Followers of Christ, might in all things Adorn the Gospel. They planted the Faith in godly Sincerity, and not in the cunning Craftiness of Men. It's true, the Doctor may have an occasion for such a Scrutiny, which the Apostles had not; for if he should leave any of their Names out of his Number, it may be the loss of 40l. of *Tobacco per* Poll; and therefore it is not unlikely, but he will endeavour that his *Tabula* be compleat, as to both their Names and Numbers; but with respect to their Morals, it is much if his Tables are not often false.

But further, this *Tabula prima Parochialium Inquirendorum*, of the Doctor's, or (to make it once speak English) *First Table of Parish Inquiries*, seems to have some affinity with the *Inquisitionem* of the Romanists, and to be a Branch of their Antichristian Politicks, drawn from the **Decreta Sociatatis Jesu*, by which to draw the People under his Girdle; and that this is not bare Guess and Surmise only, the Doctor's following words do shew. 'Because I find

**Writ by* Meursius, *and printed* 1635. [63]

'(says he) there comes under my Cognizance, several very 'important Cases to be tried speedily, with Relation to the 'Clergy and Laity. To determine several of which, being 'of so high a Nature, as *Forgery of Holy Orders, Polygamy* '*and Incest*, I want Instructions as to the Manner and Forms 'of Proceedings; and as it appears to me, have no Power, 'by my Commission, to give such Sentences as the Nature 'of the Crimes will require.

Upon which, I cannot but tell the Doctor, that whatsoever Person, holding Christian Society, does by wicked and unclean Actions (of which, these are some of the chief) give occasion of Scandal and Offence, to the Society he pretends to hold *Church-Membership* with; that Society hath no further Power warranted in the New Testament, than to give Admonition, Reproof or Rebuke, upon the Offender; which, if not followed, by the Amendment of the Offender, then to cast out and refuse such an one their Communion. This is all the Process which the Church can make, it being all that our Saviour directed, and what the Apostles did practise.

Now I make no doubt, but the Doctor's Commission was full as extensive as that; but if, through the mistake of the Clerk who drew it, it had been more narrowly worded, yet Holy Writ, without a *Bishop's Commission*, is both sufficient Warrant and Precedent, for all that relates to Church-Membership, and a Separation from it: So that had the Doctor design'd to govern himself in his pretended *Spiritual Function*, and *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, by that *Rule*, he could not want any necessary Instruction, relating to the manner of Proceedings against Sinners of his Communion. But it seems it is something more that he wants, *viz. To give such Sentences as the Nature of Polygamy and Incest do require.* The Doctor does well to tread softly here, and see that his Power be full before he exercise the Office of the Civil Magistrate, and venture to give such Sentences as the Nature of these Crimes require, lest he incur a *Premunire;* for who knows not that these Crimes are in their

Nature justly deemed Capital, and the *Sentences*, which our Laws have provided for them are according. Here the Doctor's Commission was *short*, he might *Excommunicate*, but not *Hang* the wicked, and it is like it will be no short while before the *Government* put into his hands such a branch of the Civil Power.

What I have yet said, has not been with respect to *Forgery of Holy Orders*, which the Doctor says, does also come under his Cognizance; therefore now a word or two of that, and then I have done with these great Crimes of some of the Doctor's Communicants. It is nothing strange, that the Doctor should want Instruction in this matter, because it is a thing not named in all the New Testament; and therefore he can have no light, as to the manner of Proceeding, or Sentence from thence against it; The nearest Parallel which the Doctor can urge from thence, is, where the Apostle
Cor. 11, 13. tells of some *that were false Apostles;* and the mark by which he judged them to be so, was, they were *Deceitful workers:* Now if the Doctor will make this the *Line* and *Rule* of his Judgment, it is too likely he will find no small part of his few Clergy there to be guilty.

But now, the *deceitful Works*, by which *false Apostles* were known, cou'd not be the *forging of any Writing or Warrant* under the Hand and Seal of a Bishop, to Use and Practice as a Minister in the Church of Christ: Because we read not, that any of the Ministers of Christ had any such thing; so much the contrary, that one of the most Eminent
al. 1, 12. says, *I neither received it of Man, neither was I taught it, but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ.* This was *Holy Orders*, properly and truly speaking. And I deny the Doctor to prove by any Warrant or Authority from Christ or his Apostles, that That manner of *Ordination* and *Mission* is now ceased; and that it is now meerly Humane and Political, according to the general Practise of Christendom. This brings me to the 2*d* Consideration of the Doctor's Method, as it respects his Clergy there: In the Choice of which,

that are now to be sent over, the Doctor seems to be very careful, when he says, *He would have them to be of a true publick disinterested, in one word, of a missionary Spirit.* These will indeed be excellent Qualifications; because the Man who is truly of a *Missionary Spirit*, will find like pressing necessity to Preach the Gospel, as the Apostle says he had. And if the Doctor will take only such, instead of Thirty, which he says he shall at least want, I wou'd be glad, with my whole Heart, if the number were much increased; nor wou'd the People be in any danger from them, because such would in Truth and Sincerity say, *We seek not yours, but you:* And therein give full proof, that they were both *publick Spirited*, and *Disinterested* to worldly Things.

Letter, p. 2. *Par.* 6.

1 Cor. 9. 16.

But alas, the Provision which the Doctor has so carefully began to make, of *Glebes* and *Parsonage-Houses*, and *Yearly Assessments* for *Tithes*, are plain Indications to the contrary of his pretence of *Disinterestedness*, and speak this no less loudly, than *the Bleating of the Sheep, and the Lowing of the Oxen*, did *Saul's* Disobedience.

Sam. 15. 14.

That this may appear yet a little plainer, if possible, I shall observe, that the Doctor, in his *General view of the English Colonies* (which is at the beginning of his Piece, *Apostolick Charity, &c.* printed this Year 1700.) says, There are 16 Ministers in *Maryland;* and in his Letter, as above-quoted, he says, He shall want at least Thirty, so that these will make Forty Six in Number, which will be a pretty chargeable Company to the Province, by that time they are furnish'd to the Doctor's Mind; for he says, 'Fifty Pounds 'worth of Books being the least that can be supposed 'requisite to enable a Minister to discharge the Duties of 'his Function. Here the Doctor has taken a Method to spend Two Thousand Three Hundred Pounds, of the Peoples Money, only to help qualifie the Priests: Is not that very hard upon the People? Who must be obliged to lay out their Money to Teach the Priest *gratis?* Yet, when he

post. Cha. p. 7.

has learn'd, he will not Teach the People *gratis*, but make them pay for what he takes out of Books which they gave him. If the Doctor can reconcile this to the practise of the Primitive Preachers, recorded in the New Testament, then we may say, He has turn'd over them leaves to some purpose. But not to insist long on this, I will shew how the Doctor does further explain himself in his *Proposals for the Encouragement and Promotion of Religion*, &c. printed in his *Apostolick Charity*, before-quoted; 'The Clergy (says 'he) that are already in the Plantations, as well as those 'who are to be sent thither, cannot (Humanely Speaking) 'be so capable of Informing themselves, and of Instructing 'others, in the Design of Christianity, in the Nature of the 'Covenant of Grace, in the Meanings and Importance of 'the Articles of our most Holy Faith, and in the Nature 'and Extent of all Christian Duties, without the assistance 'of some good Commentators upon the Holy Scripture.

I must not omit here, to observe to the Doctor, that if the Clergy which are already in the Plantations, and those who are to be sent thither, are truly of a *Missionary Spirit, having a Zeal for God's Glory, and the Salvation of Mens Souls*, it is impossible they should be Ignorant of any Essential Part of the Christian Religion: And therefore, if they recur to *Humane Means*, to make themselves *Gospel-Ministers*, they will yet want a *Gospel Spirit;* and then wonder not, if they succeed not in bringing Souls to God: For the turning People from *Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan to the Power of God*, is only to be done by such, who have first known something of the Power of God, to turn them from Satan's Power, by which these are both *Ministers* and *Witnesses* of those things, in which the Power of Christ hath appeared; and these will more effectually know *the Design of Christianity, in the Nature of the Covenant of Grace*, as it hath wrought in them, than any Commentator whatsoever can teach them. But since the Doctor does place so eminent a part of his Clergy's Qualifi-

cations, in their Acquaintance with good *Commentators*, it may not be amiss a little to examine the Pretence, and which might have been done with more certainty, had the Doctor named those *good Commentators* he intends; but it will, however, be no very difficult matter to judge, which may be some that are ranked in that Number: For when Persons are distinguished by the Epithets of *Fathers* and *Holy*, there can be no doubt, but these, if they have writ Commentaries, they obtain the first place; and of such there are very many: Yet that I may not tire my Reader, with too great Variety of them, I will choose to Instance, particularly, *Hierom*,[64] of whom it is said, *He was the greatest Critick of them all; and who, by often exercising the Strength of his admirable Wit, both by himself, and with others, hath observed more, touching the Stile, Method, natural Disposition and Opinions of the Fathers, than any other.*

ile's *Use f the*[65] *thers, lib.* p. 112.

This Man, in an Apology which he writ, saith, 'This is 'the usual manner of Commentaries, and the Rule that 'Commentators go by; to set down in their Expositions, 'the several Opinions they have met withal; and to deliver 'both what their own, and what the Judgment of others 'is upon the place. And this is the Practice, not only of 'Interpreters of the Scriptures, but of the Expositors also, 'of all kind of Secular Learning, as well in the Greek, as 'in the Latin Tongue.

pol. ad-rs. Ruff. *aile lib.* p. 101.

Now Doctor, with what certainty, *Humanely Speaking*, can any of thy Clergy learn, from such an undistinguished Mixture of Opinions, the *Design of Christianity in the Nature of the Covenant of Grace?* But to carry the difficulty, or rather impossibility, to its proper length, let us hear the same *Hierom*, in an Epistle which he writ, where, after having named the Writings of *Origen*, *Didymus*, *Apollinaris*, *Theodorus*, *Heraclas*, *Eusebius Emissenus*,[66] *Alexander* the Heretick, with others; he says, 'That I may therefore 'plainly tell the Truth, I confess, that I have read all these 'Authors, and collecting together as much as I could in

erom *ep.* August. *æ est* 89. *aile lib.* p. 104, 105.

'my Memory, I presently called for a Scribe, to whom I 'dictated either my own Conceptions, or those of other 'Men, without remembring either the Order, or the Words 'sometimes, or the Sense.

See here what great Uncertainty the Man is brought into, who seeks to them for Information in the *Design of Christianity;* while he is reading, as he thinks, *Hierom*, or others of the Fathers (as they are called) it may not be the Opinion of the Man, under whose it is found; and how should the Reader know this, unless he takes the Advice which *Hierom* gives to *Augustine?* Saying, 'If 'therefore thou lightedest upon any thing in my Exposi-'tion, which was worthy of Reprehension, it would have 'stood better with thy Learning, to have consulted the 'Greek Authors themselves, and to have seen whether what 'I have written be to be found in them, or not; and if 'not, then to have condemned it as my own private Opinion. See Doctor, where Commentaries lead; for, according to this Advice, each of the Clergy Men ought to have all the Greek Authors; and possibly, according to another Man's Advice, they ought to have all the Latine's; by which time the Libraries for thy 46 Clergymen will cost near half so many Thousand Pounds: And after all the Expense, are not such Comments excellent means to teach the Clergy, that are to Teach the People? And yet such is the Assistance that is to be expected from them; for if some others have not spoke out so much, they have done no less; witness *Hilary, Ambrose,* and others, who Robbing poor *Origen* without any Mercy, do not yet do him the Honour, so much as to name him scarcely.

Daile's *use of the Fathers, lib.* I. p. 104.

What I have said, does only respect their *Manner* of writing Commentaries; for as to the *Matter* of them, it falls under a distinct Consideration, wherein, in very great variety of Instances it might be shewn, that their Opinions are as odd and extravagant, as the manner of Collecting them was precarious, which I desire not now to trouble my Reader with.

What I have said, as to the manner of Writing *Commentaries*, may serve to shew, that, *Humanely Speaking*, they are not proper Assistances to Teach a Man, *the Design of Christianity, in the Nature of the Covenant of Grace.* But indeed, why should any Man go to look for that in Commentaries, which he may much more plainly, and with infinite more certainty, find in Holy Writ, if he bring with him but a fitting Disposition to receive Information, I mean, Sincerity and Humility. Christian Religion, is a plain Religion, its *Design* is the Salvation of Men; and there being very many, whose Capacities and Understandings are not fitted to apprehend nice Subtilties, whose Souls are still in the same Capacity of Salvation with the Wisest: God, in his Justice, has not withheld, even from these, a possibility of knowing certainly their Duty, and sufficient Assistance, whereby they may be enabled to do it; *For the Grace of God has appeared unto all Men*, to teach them both their negative and positive Duty, what to leave undone, and what to do; and why any should refuse this, and depend on them who pore upon *Commentaries*, and neglect this certain Teacher, I see not a Reason.

I have now done with the Doctor's *Method* of propagating *Christian Knowledge*, for the present, and come to an Assertion of his; 'At *Philadelphia* in *Pensilvania*, the Con-
p. 3. Last. 'gregation of Church People, which amounted but to Twenty 'or Thirty, at most, not two Years ago, through the Blessing 'of God, upon the endeavours of a late *Missionary*, is now 'increased, chiefly from Quaker-Converts, to upwards of 'Seven Hundred.

The Doctor was either foully imposed upon, or did willingly mistake the State of the Communicants of his Church in *Pensilvania*, when he ventured to assert as above; and I do tell him, that if his *Tables of Parish Inquiries* are made with no greater exactness, they will not be fit to be depended upon: For he is very much out both in the Relation he has given of what the Number of them was,

and is; but to me that is not material; for if they were many-fold what he says they are, I should by no means be offended, while they were good *Christians*, walking answerable to that Holy Profession: But when he Insults and says, That they are now upwards of Seven Hundred, chiefly from Quaker-Converts: I must put him to rights so far, as to tell him, That there is not *Twenty Quaker-Converts* among them; and even of them, I suppose, he will neither care to give the World a true Account of their Names nor Morals.

I shall now come to the Conclusion, and take leave of the Doctor for this time, when I have taken a little notice of his Liberality, in bestowing upon *G. K.*[67] the Epithet, *Excellent*, and the occasion of it, when he says, *The Field is there, and the neighbouring Parts, so happily Sown by the Excellent Mr.* Keith.

And first, for the occasion of it, *viz.* The *Field's being Sown by him:* Prithee Doctor, What is the Seed, *Tares* or *Wheat?* I am inform'd it is not, nay, I am sure it cannot be the last, if at least he hath Sown the same, he is Sowing up and down this Kingdom, since his being denied by us, such as Uncharitableness, Strife, Contention, Division, and the like; from the Sowing whereof, there can Spring no good Crop; Nor will he prove more than a weak and short Support to them that depend upon him.

But since the Doctor seems to be a Stranger to all this, and therein unacquainted with the true Character of his *Excellent Mr.* Keith, I will present him with his short Description, in the following Abstract.

G. K. is a Man of an unstable Mind, neither consistent long with himself, nor agreeing with others; by which natural Disposition, and the help of his Eleemosynary Learning, he accustoms his Pen to Scribbling; in which he perverts Mens Words, Misrepresents their Principles, and then draws false and odious Consequences from them; and charges them on those, whose Principles, fairly stated, do not admit of such

undue Conclusions. He hath traduced both the Living and the Dead, and by what he writes, he hath shewn, that to gratifie his Revenge, he regards not what he says, nor what he writes, if he can but expose them to Contempt and Reproach, with whom he is Angry. He is one of the greatest Instances of Inconstancy, Contradiction and Censoriousness, which this Age has produced. In a word, He is the Compound of Abuse and Slander; He is at present an Itinerant Preacher, but gaping after something better than that Fatigue; which advance, if he miss of, *Caveat Hierarchia.*

Doctor, This is thy Excellent Mr. *Keith*, in whom, it seems, thou art not less mistaken, than in the foregoing parts of thy Letter; all which may'st thou amend in thy next, by endeavouring to propagate *Christian Knowledge*, in a Christian Spirit, and by Christian Means,

Is the Desire of thy Faithful Friend,

Joseph Wyeth.

FINIS.

A List[68] of His Maj^{tys} Councill of Maryland, and the Burgesses of the Genl Assembly of the said Province, with Remarques who are supposed to be for & who ag^{t} passing the Act for the forty P poll for Supporte of the Ministry of the Church of England within this Province by Thomas Smithson Esq'r for Dr. Bray.

Note that the psons who are thought to be for the Law have the X before their Names, those thought to be ag^{t} it have this ⊟ after their names, those who are Doubted have a D before their names which are as followeth vizt

The Names of His Maj^{tys} Councill

	Colonell Henry Jowles	
X	Th^{os} Tench esq^{r}	
	Colonel Charles Hutchins	
X	Colonel John Addison	
X	Colonel John Courts	
X	Thomas Brooke esq^{r}	
	James Frisby esq^{r}	⊟
D	Robert Smith	
D	Colonel John Hammond	
X	Thomas Tasker esq	
X	Francis Jenkins esq	

Names of the Burgesses

	Mr. Thomas Smithson Speaker for St Mary's County	
X	Major John Lowe	
X	Thomas Beale	
	Mr Jacob Mordland	
	1 dead	

Kent County

D	Maj. Thos Smith	
D	Capt John Whittington	
	2 dead	

Ann Arundell Co.

	Capt Richard Hill	⊟
	Mr Saml Young	⊟
D	Mr James Sanders	
D	Mr John Worthington	

Burgesses from Calvert County

X	Mr Walter Smith	
	Mr Elisha Hall	⊟
	Mr Joseph Leach	⊟
D	Wm Parker [69]	

1 dead

For Charles County

	Major James Smallwood	
	Mr Benj. Hall	⊟
D	Capt Philip Hoskins	
	Mr Philip Briscoe	

Baltemore County

X	Mr John Hall
X	Mr James Phillips

2 wanting 1 dead

Talbott County

X	Col Lloyd
X	Mr Richard Tilghman

1 wanting

Somersett County

X	Mr John Bozman	
	Major Wm Whittington	⊟
D	Mr Walter Lane	
D	Mr Samuel Collins	

St Marys City

X	Capt Thos Waughope
X	Mr. Wm Taylard

For Dorset County

X Dr Jacob Lookerman
D Mr. Thos Hicks
X Mr. Thos Ennalls
Mr. Walter Cambell ⊟

Cecil County

X Colonel John Thompson
X Major Wm Harris
D Mr. Hans Hanson
1 wanting

Prince Georges County

X Colonell Ninian Beall
D Mr Wm Hutchinson
D Mr John White
D Mr Thomas Greenfield

The Burgesses have the purse in their hands, or at least the Strings.

There are 19 of them supposed to be for passing the Law. Seaven very Stiff agt it and twelve of them Dubious rather inclining to the Noes and easily carried away to the Lord Baltemore's Interest. Besides the Quakers have a great Ascendancy on many of the House.

Major Thomas Smithson is a Constant good Churchman.

Major John Lowe Mr Thos Beale & Mr Jacob Moreland are good Honest men & rather follow the Church then any other Sect and are averse to the Papists.

Major Thos Smith Doubtfull having opposed the Resolution, & being linked to the Lord Baltemore's Interest.

Captain John Whittington A good Honest Planter.

Capt Richard Hill ty'd to the L' Baltemore & Quaker Interest, has three Sonns at Menns Estate not Christened 2 absolute Quakers & the other leaning. Himselfe holding Baptisme not necessary to Salvation.

Mr Samuel Young his Son in Law, moves upon his wheel.

Mr Sanders & Mr Worthington Halfe Churchmen—very great with the Quakers.

Major Walter Smith has shewne his Zeale to ye Church in the great Care he has bestowed upon his parish Church he being a Vestryman & the Minister residing at his house.

Mr Elisha Hall & Mr Joseph Leach affect the Lord Baltemore & Quaker party.

Major James Smallwood a good Honest Mann allways affecting the Church.

Capt Philipp Hoskins & Mr Philipp Briscoe. Lukewarm Neither Hott nor Cold. Hoskins most Doubtfull.

Mr John Hall & Mr James Phillipps good Honest Planters & Constant Churchmen.

Colonel Edward Lloyd & Mr Richard Tilghman good Churchmen.

Mr John Bosman a good honest man & has his Ex^cy^s^ Comc̄on as Navall Officer.

Major Wm Whittington allways accounted a Jacobite.

Mr Walter Lane & Mr Saml Collins are Silly Drunken fellows & easily perswaded by Whittington.

Capt Th^os^ Waughope. One of the Church Militant.

Mr Wm Taylard has a Commission by his Excy^s^ Favour.

Doctor Jacob Lookerman & Mr Ennalls are Good Moderate men. Vestrymen & wish well to ye Church.

Mr Hicks an hum drum fellow knows not what he is for himselfe.

Mr Cambel of ye Kirk of Scotland.

Colonell John Thompson has his Excy^s^ Commission for Navall Officer.

Mr Wm Harris professes he loves God & ye King—was very forward in the Revolution.

Colonell Ninian Beale an honest Cavalier.

Mr Hans Hanson a Dutchman & down right Planter.

Mr Th^os^ Greenfield a Cantabrigian & good Churchman.

Mr Willm Hutchison of ye Kirke of Scotland.

Mr John White neither hot hor cold.

NOTES.

(1). In 1746 an anonymous pamphlet was published, entitled "Publick Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray." It contained 54 pages and was reprinted in 1808 with editorial notes. The title page and dedication of the first edition are as follows:

Publick Spirit, | Illustrated in the | Life and Designs | of the Reverend | Thomas Bray, D. D. | Late Minister of | St. Botolph with Aldgate. | Look not every Man on his own Things, but every | Man also on the Things of others, Phil. II. 4. | London: | Printed for J. Brotherton, at the *Bible*, next | *Tom's* Coffee-House in *Cornhill*. *M*DCCXLVI. | (Price one Shilling.) |

To | *Mrs.* Martin. | Madam, | The Scheme *of the fol* | *lowing Sheets being to con* | *sider your excellent* Father, | *chiefly in* Publick Life, | *there was no Oppor-tunity of doing* | *You Justice: Permit me therefore* | *in this Address to say, that Dr.* Bray | *has left a Daughter worthy of Him* | *self, and to wish that She may long* | *enjoy those Blessings which Providence* | *generally bestows upon the Posterity* | *of the Righteous. Accept this as the* | *sincere Respect of,* | Madam, | Your most obedient, | Humble Servant, | *The* Editor.

The original manuscript from which "Publick Spirit" was edited is chiefly in the handwriting of Richard Rawlinson and is among the papers he left the Bodleian Library. Mr. Henry F. Thompson has kindly copied it for this Publication. Rawlinson, the probable author of the manuscript, was born in 1690 and died in 1755. After graduation at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1711, he became a clergyman, and was consecrated as a bishop by the non-jurors. He was a well known topographer and literary collector.

The following is a list of the Bray Manuscripts relating to Maryland in Sion College Library:

A Memorial representing the necessity of constituting a Suffragan Bishop in Maryland.

A Memorial shewing the necessity of one to superintend the Clergy and Church in Maryland.

p. 213. "A Memorial Representing the present State of the Church & Clergy of Maryland, The Want of a better provision for the Parochial Ministers and of a Superintendent with Sufficient Powers to preside over them Humbly offered to the Venerable Committee of Convocation appointed to ———"

Memorials and other Papers relating to the Quakers, in Maryland, and Dr. Brays second circular Letter to the Clergy. May 20th, 1701.

Minutes of a meeting of the Governors and Visitors of the Free School at Annapolis.

An Order of Council relative to the Laws of Maryland.

A List of His Majestys Council (printed in the appendix of this publication).

A Letter from Dr. Bray to the Commissary and Clergy of Virginia, date Annapolis, April 3d 1700.

p. 256. Letter to Gov. of Md. July 15, 1701, sending bill to be passed, says: "I trust ye six ministers I sent have arrived & been placed—intended to send a surrogate but the one appointed fearing his patron might avoid his living here returned from Portsmouth."

A short State of the Case of the Church of Maryland &c.

A Memorial representing the Case of the Church in Maryland.

Dr. Bray's Letter to Mr. Speaker Smithson Chelsea, Aug. 27th, 1703, relative to the Church in Maryland. p. 236. Speaks of the successive failure of his efforts to help the church and finally of hearing of the "horrible crimes &c" going on in Maryland. He persuaded the Bishop of London to appoint a Commissary. But upon his finding such a one and bringing him to dine with the Bishop and the Governor at the Bishop's, the Governor "took it in such dudgeon & used such extraordinary language as that the Dr. cannot bear to see him no more not even that I might wish him a good voyage." As the Governor will not part with the commissaryship, Bray proposes that the province set apart one of the best parishes as a cure for a suffragan, promising on behalf of the Bishop of London that a glebe of not less than 500 acres in that parish shall be stocked from England with not less than 10 negroes, 2 head of black cattle and 20 hogs. As proof of his sincerity, Bray offers towards stocking this glebe the £50 voted him by the Assembly and still unpaid. He recommends that this parish be on the Eastern Shore and not near the seat of government, to avoid intermixture with State affairs. He does not get satisfactory accounts of his libraries and begs that a law may be passed for their universal visitation.

Dr. Brays Letter to Col. Quarry, 7th March, 1702.

p. 244. Letter to Major Dent, Atty. Gen. of Md. Chelsey, March 10th, 1702/3.

Most Honoured Sir:

I shall in this entertain you with a more delightful part than in that of March 1st for this is to acquaint you that now at last I have obtained the Royal Assent to the Act of Religion & do here send you a copy. It has been a cheap Act to you in comparison of what it has been to the Quakers if half be true of what has been said here viz. that it has cost them £20,000 the opposing this settlement, it has indeed a certain person you know near so many hundred in bringing it to this. I do most heartily wish the Country all the happy effects that may be expected from it. But I must with all say that you can never in reason hope for happy fruits of a good ministry in your church till you shall have some one to preside over the Clergy to punish the bad & encourage the good & to maintain discipline & order amongst you for it never yet tendered otherways than to introduce

all manner of disorder in any community whatsoever that every one should be left to himself & to do what is good in his own eyes & that therefore there have been of late such trouble & disorders crept in amongst the Clergy with you as make me sick to hear is owing to this. For how else could it be that such an infamous vile man as Holt who was expelled out of Virginia for adultery should be received in Maryland & presented to one of the best livings in the Province. And were any one amongst you to govern the Clergy such a miscreant who I hear has attempted to poison his own Wife & has lately had a Bastard by the woman he kept would have been so far from being permitted to enjoy his place & to exercise the ministry of his Holy Calling that he would not only long ere this have been deprived of his living but degraded from his function. I hear there is another scandalous vagrant come into the Province, one Butt as wicked as the other and yet put into a place. But all this & a great deal more would be prevented were there some Ecclesiastical Person vested with power of Induction as well as other Jurisdiction who would take care to shut the church door against these and the like sons of the Devil And Such a one would not only preserve you from Evening Wolves entering the Sheepfold as Vagrant Priests who pass from one Province to another being never Suffered to make a settlement long in either Scarcely ever fail to be but a Watchful inspection over the Clergy that come regularly with places amongst you having the license & recommendation of their Diocesan would effectually prevent or cure any evil from them for a good Superintendent would so regulate their manners & their conduct also in the exercise of their Sacred Ministry that it would very rarely happen that the enemies of God's Church would have anything to suggest against those that served the Alter. For these reasons & out of that earnest zeal wherewith God almighty knows my heart still burns for the good of the province I would heartily wish you would renew that law whereby you formerly settled the full Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction upon the bishop of London's Commissary. Now there are two reasons wherefore I have hitherto forborn to say anything about the settling that Jurisdiction & that I now urge you to settle it by Act of Assembly. The first is that so long as the settlement which concerned the Parochial Clergy was depending I thought it better & in their behalf to forbear attempting anything in the other matter as well knowing I should find work enough to gain the great point about the Minister's Establishment. The second reason why I have spoke to it not till now is that I might then without the least appearance of self interest solicit the Establishment of the Judicial office of Commissary on the Superintendant over the Clergy when I should have discarded any pretentions to that place myself. So long as the Law for Establishing the Church was depending I was contented to pass over that Titular character of the Commissary that I might with greater advantage solicit the affair for you & this I say I was contented to do for Maryland though it has kept me & my family 2½ years in Town & exposed me to such a vast expense

as a contest with the Quakers who have a Public purse rendered unavoidable. But now having obtained the settlement of the Parochial Ministers, I do absolutely disown all other Relation to Maryland otherways than as a friend to the Province who will continue such to his dying day and that to the utmost of his power will endeavour all the ways he can to serve it in its greatest interests that is in all things that may tend to the good of the People's Souls & should you pass such an Act & send it here for the Royal Assent though at its coming here it will find me near 100 miles from town yet I promise that I will come & Solicit it for you & possibly may make it as hard & odious to have you refused in this which will provide for the good government of your church as was done in that other which provided for private Ministers in it. Now should you think fit to re-enact the Law for the vesting the office of Commissary upon the Ecclesiastical Superintendent it will be necessary that you should give it all the advantages possible in the Preamble to the Act of such considerations as I think proper to be asserted I have already suggested. It will be also absolutely necessary if you would have the Superintendent in a capacity to keep evil men from coming in at first into the possession of the Cures that though the presentation to your churches should remain in the Governor, yet the power of Institution to & Induction into them should be vested in the Superintendent or he that is appointed to Preside over the Clergy, call him what you will for by that means the Governor & Superintendent will be checks one upon another in that important Concern of settling a good clergy amongst you which alone will be a great means to Secure you from the entrance of Bad Men into the Churches. And no Governor will have any reason to complain of any infringement of his powers by this limitation that there by the power of Inductions shall be taken from him. He will have the presentation to the Living left to him & why should he desire or expect a greater prerogative in his government than the Queen (from whom he derives) does herself enjoy. The Crown does here with us present to many Churches but does not Institute or Induct to any. The former is the part of the Bishop the latter of the Arch Deacon with us & by means of which two or three checks as I said before you would be better provided against the coming in of Scandalous men into the churches which is a main step toward the maintaining a good discipline in the Church. It being very hard to expell or deprive a wicked Clerk out of a Parish when once legally vested therein as his freehold. Nor in truth as to the right of presentation itself can I see any manner of reason why the Governor of any Province should expect to present to all Living, within his Government when the Crown itself does not do the same here. Those 30 Parishes which you have already founded may remain in the presentation of the Governor but should a clause be inserted in the Bill We are now speaking of to invest the right of a Presentation to a Church in any person who shall for the benefit & comfort of himself & neighbors build a Church & endow it with a Glebe & stock should such power I say of Presenting to Churches be vested in any that should found a Church I am persuaded that some thou-

sand of the good people of Maryland would not long be under the necessity of never or Seldom coming to church or to ride 20 miles to one to the great discouragement of Christian Religion amongst you. There are several persons in the Province whose Estates both in Land & Negroes may become escheated for want of Heirs & those persons being childless might they enjoy the honor of being patrons as well as being Founders of Churches. Would some of them I am persuaded build Churches whilst they live & bequeath Their Estates to the Endowment thereof when they die rather than let their fortunes escheat to a Popish Proprietor. There are also Several Gentlemen in the Province who having vast tracts of Land notwithstanding that have children would be forward to Separate a part of it for the Maintenance of a Minister to Officiate in Holy things. Might they present a child one of their own family to the Church, by them both Built & Edowed. Now it is to be hoped that under a Queen so well devoted to our Constitution as we now enjoy a Bishop may be appointed in some part of the Continent to Ordain the Natives that shall be fit for that Holy Function. And when you shall find your own Sons & Sons in law your Brothers, Cosins or near relations in the Churches then it is that I expect you will freely give that encouragement to those who Minister at the Alter which now comes but grudingly from [you] whilst only Aliens & Strangers can possess the advantage of your settlements. But then especially a wealthy Planter may think it no prejudice to his family though he should with considerable cost both Build & Edow a church on some of his many tracts of land when he shall find it in his power to provide by that very thing in an honorable profession for the hopefulest branch of his family.

Thus I have freely laid before you my thoughts with relation to perfecting the state & conditions of your Church by making a provision for some one to superintend over the Clergy as well as by opening the way to give yourselves more places for God's worship. And having no manner of design in what I propose but barely the chiefest good I Submit wholly to you to act therein as you please. And I shall be very easy myself whether you do anything or nothing in it. I only take care to propose it to you to lay this matter before Mr. Speaker Smithson when you shall next see him. I take that Gentleman to be not only a person of great abilities & sound judgment but throughly well affected to our Church as having been a great Patron of its cause in many struggles relating to its establishment. Pray advise with him in this matter. Giving him my most humble service & great respect and believe me ever to be as to yourself one that truly loves & honors you & who is with all Sincerity."

Dear Sir

Your most assured friend

And faithful Servant

Thomas Bray.

Mr. Thompson in transmitting the copy of the manuscript life writes as follows:

"In Sion College there is a MS., which seems to have been intended for the printer, dated 1705 & entitled 'A Memorial Representing the Rise Progress and Ishue of Dr. Brays Missionary Undertaking &c.'"

It begins "In the year 1691 & 1692 the then Governour and Assembly of Maryland having divided that Province into &c." (vide page 9 of Publick Spirit and page 14 of the Rawlinson MS. as here reprinted) and ends "after the Bill had been thrice Amended at the Plantation Board it was at last approved" (page 35 *supra*).

It is written in the first person, and is an autobiography to that extent, but it only deals with what he did, during the time of his connection with Maryland.

There is a pencil memorandum that it "is copied into the book called the Life & Designs of Dr. Bray without any acknowledgment." This may have been written by Anderson (Colonial Church, II, 421). In the MS. the "I's" are erased, and "he" or "the doctor" is substituted, and some other alterations are substituted, which probably were done, when "Publick Spirit" was printed, as the MS. and the book (to the extent of the MS.) are alike.

The first part of Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. is in the handwriting of an amanuensis of Dr. Rawlinson, and seems to have been prepared and corrected for the press. There is a form for the Title Page, and it is "by the Revd. ————." Dr. Rawlinson concealed, where possible, his title as "Revd." or "Bishop," and very often concealed his name. How he intended to fill in the blank no one knows.

My theory is that Dr. Rawlinson himself wrote this Life of Dr. Bray, that the first nine pages he had rewritten by his amanuensis, and perhaps changed from the original, but left the latter part untouched, or perhaps intended some time to have it rewritten in plainer characters, for he wrote a very bad hand. There is no doubt that this was intended by him as part of his Life of Dr. Bray and *is* a part of his memoir. It does not differ materially from Publick Spirit.

Dr. Rawlinson has some notes of the Samuel Smith who edited "Publick Spirit." He was the son of a Clergyman—also Samuel Smith—who was Rector of Cardeston in Shropshire, was graduated at Cambridge in 1726, and was ordained priest at St. Pauls, London 26th. Feby. 1726. He was Rector of "All Hallows on the wall," London, in Feby. 1735; was one of Dr. Bray's Associates, and was one of the Common Council of the Corporation of Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia.

In the British Museum Library and the Whittingham or Maryland Diocesan Library there are copies of "Publick Spirit," Second edition 1808, edited by Henry J. Todd with valuable appendices. Rev. Mr. Todd gives "Saml. Smith" as the Author of "Publick Spirit." The preface to "Publick Spirit," the first edition, is signed by "the Editor." There is however this extract from the Journals of Dr. Bray's Associates, 17 June, 1731. "An historical Account was laid by Mr. (Saml.) Smith before the Associates, of Dr. Bray's Life and Designs; and with some alterations the

whole was approved." It is on that extract that the assumption rests that Samuel Smith was the author of "Publick Spirit," &c. Dr. Todd seems to have been ignorant of the MSS. in the Rawlinson Collection. I think that the probability is that Dr. R. put his MSS. at the disposal of Mr. Saml. Smith, when Mr. S. was asked to prepare the Account for the Associates, and that Mr. S. used what he and the other Associates thought proper, and *that* was printed. Dr. R. would hardly have copied all that from another MSS. and in his collection are MSS. by various persons and sometimes printed papers. Rev. Mr. Macray who has charge of the MSS. at the Bodleian and who is a Fellow of Magdalen, thinks that is the most probable state of the case." A portrait of Dr. Bray is reproduced in Church Bells for Jan. 25, 1895, and in the Spirit of Missions for June, 1900, Vol. LXV. p. 353. As to Marton, his birthplace, see Arnold Foster's Studies in Church Dedications, Vol. III. p. 197.

(2). Rev. John Kettlewell, born at North Allerton 1653, died in London April 12, 1695, was a devotional writer of considerable popularity in his time. He was an Oxford graduate and because of the reputation of his writings, he was presented the living of Coleshill in 1682. He was a non juror and, preaching against rebellion on any pretence, was deprived of his vicarage in 1690. He removed to London and spent the remainder of his life in writing. Bray included some of Kettlewell's works in the libraries he established.

(3). Simon, fourth Baron Digby of Geashill, King's Co., Ireland, died in 1685 and was succeeded by his brother William, fifth Lord Digby. The latter received the degree of D. C. L. from Oxford in 1708 and was a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and of the Common Council for Georgia. He represented Warwickshire in the Parliament of 1689.

(4). This was probably William Lloyd (born 1627, died 1717) successively bishop of St. Asaph, of Lichfield and Coventry, and of Worcester. He was bishop of Lichfield from 1692 to 1700. He was a very learned man and a voluminous writer.

(5). In 1696, Bray published at Oxford his first work in 303 folio pages containing 26 lectures, intending it to be the first volume of a series of four, which should contain "A Course of Lectures upon the Church Catechism." The Yale University Library has a copy of the first edition. The Maryland Diocesan Library of the Protestant Episcopal Church (commonly known as the Whittingham Library) which possesses a large number of books, belonging to the old parochial libraries of Maryland, has the following editions of this work:

A | Course | of | Lectures | upon the | Church Catechism, | in | Four Volumes. | Vol. 1. | . . . The Second Edition. | By Thomas Bray, D. D. | Oxford, 1697. fol.

"Catechetical Discourses on the whole doctrine of the covenant of grace . . being a body of divinity proper to be read by all Christians in order to their understanding the whole frame and tenour of the Christian Religion. More especially designed to be read in the plantations instead of homilies or sermons, whereas that there is either no minister to officiate or where the people are at so great a distance from the churches as not to be able to enjoy the benefit of the ordinary preaching and catechising. As also in the planters' families and on board our ships." 1701, London, fol.

The preface is especially addressed to dwellers in the plantations and among other matters Bray says: "Having observed so far as I have made my progress in the American parts and I suppose it may be much alike in several others that neither the people can reach the church, nor the minister officiate therein above once a day and withal that there are several planters to whom there are belonging so many quarters with so many servants in them that the family alone might make a large congregation, I would, therefore, heartily recommend it to such masters or heads of families . . to call together their whole family, their children and servants and all that do any wise belong to them and read prayers amongst them as is prescribed in our liturgy and a catechetical discourse."

Catechetical Lectures | on the Preliminary | Questions and Answers | of the | Church Catechism. . . . | The Third Edition. | By Thomas Bray, D. D. | Lond., 1703. fol. pp. 344 + 67. | Text is same in all three editions. A portion of the second volume is bound in with the first volume in the third edition which is also bound with William Allen's Certain Select Discourses, 1699, and John Kettlewell's Practical Believer, 1703. It is interesting to find Bray's and Kettlewell's works in the same covers.

We are indebted for a number of courtesies to Miss Whittingham and Mr. G. B. Utley, of the Diocesan Library.

(6). This was one of the results of the Protestant Revolution and the transfer of Maryland from a Proprietary to a Royal Province. The act of 1692 (Ch. 2.) was entitled "An Act for the service of Almighty God and the establishment of the Protestant Religion in this Province." (See Archives of Md. Assembly.) At this point the Sion College Mss. begins.

(7). A supplementary act to that of 1692 was passed in 1694 (Ch. 12.) to last for three years and was superseded by this one of 1695 (Ch. 1.).

(8). This act was passed in 1696 (Ch. 18. Bacon's Laws.) and repealed all prior acts establishing the Anglican Church. It bore the same title as the act of 1692.

(9). Rev. Thomas Clayton was the first Anglican rector in Pennsylvania. Through his efforts "a very fine church" was built of brick, in 1695 on the present site of Christ Church, Philadelphia. He died in 1699, of yellow fever, at Sassafras, Md. (Scharf & Westcott's, Philadelphia, II. p. 1343.)

(10). Rev. Samuel Marshall was appointed rector at Charleston, S. C., in 1696 and died in the autumn of 1699 of a malignant fever. (See Anderson's Colonial Church, II. pp. 462–464.)

(11). Sir Thomas Lawrence came to Maryland as Secretary of the Province with the first royal governor in 1692. He seems to have taken charge of matters as President of the Council for a short time in September, 1693, after Sir Lionel Copley's death.

(12). The Annapolitan Library. This collection of books was the first lending library in the British colonies and the largest collection of books at the time in the plantations. The remnants of it are in the possession of St. John's College, Annapolis, and are stamped "Sub auspiciis Wilhelmus III, E bibliotheca Annopolitana."

(13). Dr. Bray's first library publication appeared in 1697, when at London was printed by E. H. for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's Churchyard a volume of 130 pages entitled "Bibliotheca Parochialis." (Sabin 7474.) Copies are in the Maryland Historical Society and Maryland Diocesan Libraries, as well as in the New York State Library. A second edition of the first and only volume published appeared in 1707 and contained 412 pages. Copies of this are in the New York Public Library, the Yale University Library, the Whittingham Library, and the Maryland Historical Society Library. The title of the second edition is: Bibliotheca Parochialis, &c, | or a | Scheme | of such | Theological and Other Heads, | as seem requisite to be perus'd, or Occasionally consulted, by the | Reverend Clergy. | Together with (The Books which may be profitably) Read on each of those Points, | In order to promote the Forming and Erecting | Libraries of three Degrees, vis. General, De | canll or Lending, and Parochial throughout Her | Majesty's Dominions, both at Home and Abroad. | To which will be subjoin'd | An account how far the Design has been | hitherto Advanced; and how practicable it may be to perfect the same. | The second edition is so changed as really to be a new book.

The introduction and conclusion of the first edition, being the only parts relating to the Colonies, are reprinted in this publication, pp. 191 to 205, from the copy in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

(14). The sermon entitled Apostolick Charity (Sabin 7473) is reprinted in this Publication, pp. 72 to 97, from the copy in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. At least three editions of it appeared, the last one being printed in 1700. The first and last editions are in the New York Public Library, the Yale University Library and the John Carter Brown Library. The Boston Public Library and the Whittingham Library have the edition of 1699.

(15). An essay to promote necessary and useful knowledge which he issued in 1697 (Sabin 7476) is reprinted in this Publication, pp. 53 to 70, from the copy in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. It

is also found in the New York Public Library and the John Carter Brown Library.

(16). In 1698, he published the second edition of "A short discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant being an exposition upon the preliminary questions and answers of our church catechism, Proper to be read by all young persons, in order to their understanding the whole frame and tenor of the Christian religion and to their being duly prepared for confirmation. With devotions preparatory to that apostolick and useful ordinance." London, printed by E. Holt for W. Hawes. Small 8vo. pp. —— with an "Appendix to the discourse upon the doctrine of our baptismal covenant; being a method of family-religion" pp. 29. This work is in the Boston Public Library and in the Whittingham Library. (The latter copy is of an edition of 1699.)

(16[a]). From the Sion College Manuscript, Mr. Thompson has copied the following interesting account of Dr. Bray's Voyage.

Dec 16th 99. I came from London to Gravesend about 1 O'clock . .

Dec 20th. We arrived at Deal . .

21st " set sail from the Downs, about noon, the wind from the N. W. to the N. E. fair weather and arrived at Plymouth the 24th in the afternoon. Went on shoar that Night and Lodgd in Town . . .

Jany 4th we sett saile from Plymouth W. N. N. E. & Arrived not within ye Capes till March ye 18th by which youle Conclude we had a Tedious passage. Indeed the whole Voyage was very stormy, as is usual in the winter; but, I thank God we reced no Damage. The most remarkable storms we met with were Jany ye 20, the wind from the West S. W. to ye W. N. W. when we lay a Trie under our mainsayle till 4 of ye Clock this morning our mainsayle, and sheet gave way, & split our sayle to pieces, then Huld. Another Violent Storm we had ffeb 8th. The wind S. S. W. to ye N. N. W. with much Rain, Thunder, and Lightnings. We hulld also, and lay a Trie most part of this last 24 hours. And Immediately preceding both these Storms, we had Corpizants, being Globular Exhalations, playing upon the Top of our masts wch the Marriners tell us do allwaies portend Storms.

(17). This meeting was held at an uncertain date, probably in April, 1700, and seems to have no further record than that here given.

(18). On the fifth of May, Dr. Bray preached the sermon which is reprinted in this Publication, pp. 99 to 122, from the copy owned by the Maryland Historical Society. This is the earliest extant production of the Maryland press. I know of no other copy.

(19). The law passed at this session (Act of 1700. Ch. 1.) bore the same title as those of 1692 and 1696 and like the latter met the king's disapproval.

(20). The Speaker of the Lower House in 1700 was Thomas Smithson, the author of the interesting list of the assembly printed in our appendix.

(21). The date should be May 23, 1700. "The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation held at Annopolis in Mary-Land May 23, 24, 25. Anno 1700, London. Printed by W. Downing in Bartholomew-Close near West Smithfield, 1700 (Sabin 7472) were reprinted as an appendix to Dr. F. L. Hawks's "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U. S." Vol. II. in 1839. Copies of the original are in the New York Public Library and the John Carter Brown Library. Out of this visitation grew the "Circular Letter to the Clergy of Maryland" which seems to have been first printed separately (Sabin 7475). A copy of this is in the John Carter Brown Library. The letter was soon reprinted in a second edition, with revision and enlargement and together with a second letter, &c., under the title of "Several Circular Letters to the Clergy of Maryland (Sabin 7482)." This edition is reprinted in this Publication, pp. 123 to 156, from the copy in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The first letter and the Course of Catechising, with slight omissions from the second edition, were reprinted in 1704 in a duodecimo volume called the "Whole Course of Catechetical Instruction, with an introductory Discourse." (Sabin's 7477 and 7483 seem to be the same book.) Copies are in the Maryland Historical Society and Whittingham Libraries.

(22). It will be noted that Dr. Bray's whole stay in Maryland seems to have been less than six months.

(23). This "Memorial, Representing the present State of Religion on the Continent of North America" (Sabin 7479) is reprinted in this Publication, pp. 159 to 173, from the copies in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society and the John Carter Brown Library. Two variant editions of it are found in the John Carter Brown Library. About this time, Dr. Bray seems also to have published "A letter from Dr. Bray to such as have contributed towards the propagating Christian Knowledge in the Plantations," (1700) 4to. (Sabin 7478) and "The present State of the Protestant Religion in Maryland under the Government of Francis Nicholson, Esq. by Dr. Bray, deputed by the Lord Bishop of London to be his Commissary in that Province." (London, 1700.) Half sheet (Sabin 7481). A copy of the latter is in the Sion College Library, and is reprinted here, pp. 174–176. The former is reprinted from the Sion College copy, pp. 177 to 182, and an answer to it by Joseph Wyeth is reprinted as an appendix in this publication, pp. 209 and ff. A memorial representing the present case of the church in Maryland is also reprinted here from the Sion College copy, pp. 183 to 190. Wyeth's pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, to whose Librarian, Mr. G. P. Winship, we are indebted for courtesies.

(23[a]). Here ends the manuscript in the Sion College Library.

(24). This bill seems to have been the Law of 1702, Ch. 1., which remained in force throughout the whole Provincial period of Maryland's history. It

was entitled "An act for the establishment of religious worship in this Province according to the Church of England and for the maintainance of ministers."

(24[a]). *Lord Weymouth.* Sir Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth, was born in 1640, the eldest son of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, first baronet of Kempsford. He was envoy to Sweden in 1666, later sat in the House of Commons and was raised to the peerage in 1682. In 1688, he was one of the four Lords who were sent to ask the Prince of Orange to take the government. Weymouth was displeased with his reception and, afterwards, intrigued with King James. In the reign of Queen Anne he was made privy councillor. He was a friend of Bishop Ken—and a great patron of the non-jurors. In politics he was a high Tory. He died on July 28, 1714.

(25). This may be the "Whole Course of Catechetical Instruction." I know of no other tract which corresponds with it. In 1702, Bray published "Bibliotheca Catechetica or, the Country Curates' Library," according to the Dictionary of National Biography.

(25[a]). *Sir Peter King* was afterwards raised to the peerage as Lord King, Baron of Ockham. He was a first cousin of the philosopher, John Locke, and was born in Exeter in 1669. He studied at the University of Leyden and at the Middle Temple. At the bar he soon won reputation and was employed in a number of important cases such as those of the Aylesburymen and Dr. Sacheverell. He entered parliament in 1701 and was regarded as one of the mainstays of the Whig party. In 1714, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and in the next year he was sworn of the Privy Council. King was raised to the peerage and made Lord Chancellor in 1725. His career as chancellor was not successful in adding to his reputation. In 1733, he resigned, on account of a paralytic stroke and died on July 22, 1734. He was an earnest student of early church history and published several works upon this subject.

(26). "Papal Usurpation and Persecution to which is appended a translation of Perrin's History of the old Waldenses and Albigenses and other works." This was intended as a supplement to Fox's Book of Martyrs. The Whittingham Library has a copy, as have those of Yale University and the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.

In 1708, Bray published a sermon entitled "For God or Satan," preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners at St. Mary le Bow. A copy in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society shows a line of thought strikingly like that followed by those who, in our day engage in successful municipal reforms.

In the Yale University Library is a copy of "The Good Fight of Faith, in the Cause of God against the Kingdom of Satan, Exemplified in a Sermon Preach'd at the Parish church of St. Clements Danes Westminster,

on the 24th of March 1708/9. At the Funeral of Mr. John Dent, Who was Barbarously Murder'd in the doing his Duty in the Execution of the Laws against Profaneness and Immorality. By Thomas Bray D. D. Minister of St. Botolph's, Aldgate. Publish'd at the Request of the Justices of the Peace, of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, and other Gentlemen that heard it. London: Printed and Sold by Joseph Downing in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield 1709." Small quarto, pp 4–27.

(26[a]). *Sion College* possesses a large manuscript volume given it by Dr. Bray, which I saw there in July 1897. We have already referred to it and print extracts from it in this publication.

(26[b]). *Viscount Palmerston*, Henry Temple, the first to bear that title, was born about 1673 and was son of Sir John Temple, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. He was raised to the peerage in 1723. He died on June 10, 1757, at Chelsea. He was a friend of Bishop Berkeley and of the Duchess of Marlborough. He is usually considered the Philander of Young's "Night Thoughts." In the English House of Commons he sat as a follower of Sir Robert Walpole.

(26[c]). John Perceval was born in the county of Cork, in 1683, and died in 1748, at London. He was second son of Sir John Perceval, Baronet. In 1691 he succeeded his elder brother as baronet, and in 1715 he was created Baron Perceval in the Irish Peerage. In 1723 he was made Viscount Perceval and in 1733 Earl of Egmont, both in the Irish peerage. He served in the English House of Commons and thrice refused an English peerage. Religious, antiquarian and genealogical studies were pursued by him with zeal. He was one of Oglethorpe's assistants in founding the Colony of Georgia and was appointed first president of the trustees, in 1732. He withheld neither money, time, nor influence in his ceaseless efforts for that colony.

(26[d]). Rev. Stephen Hales was born in Kent, 1677, and died 1761. He was a very distinguished botanist, physiologist and inventor. In 1703, he graduated at Corpus Christi College with the degree of M. A. The degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by Oxford, in 1733. He was perpetual curate of Teddington, Middlesex, where he had Peg Woffington and Alexander Pope for neighbors. He was one of the trustees for the Colony of Georgia.

(26[e]). William Belitha was one of the original trustees of Georgia.

(27). This organization, known as "Dr. Bray's Association for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools," still lives and does a good work. A recent article on its libraries was contained in the Library Association Record, Vol. III, p. 29. Other references are found in Greenwood's Library Year-book, 1897, p. 299, and Transactions, L. A. U. K., 1878, pp. 51 and 145. The address of the organization is 19 Delahay St., London, S. W.

(28). Rev. Joseph Colebatch was rector of All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel Co., in Maryland, as early as 1700, and was present at Dr. Bray's Visitation. He was chosen by the clergy of Maryland in 1727, to go to England for consecration as their bishop, but was prevented from going, as the writ of *ne exeat regno* was sued out against him in the courts.

(29). Rev. Mr. Joseph Holt, of Barbadoes, was the first Chaplain sent there and was instructed to take in his care not only the white but also the "negroes and their children." Anderson's Colonial Church, III. p. 535.

(30). "A Brief Account of the Life of Mr. John Rawlet, born 1642, died 1686." He was a friend of Kettlewell's and a clergyman of like mind with Dr. Bray.

(31). Bernard Gilpin, the "Apostle of the North" of England, was born in Westmoreland in 1517, and died at Houghton in 1583. He was a clergyman in the Church of England and was famous for his bold sermons.

(31[a]). *Primordia Bibliothecaria*, this is said to have been published in 1726. I have not found a copy.

(31[b]). *Borough Compter* was a prison for debtors in an incorporated town. There were several *Compters* or *Counters* in London.

(32). It is interesting to note the claim here made that Bray was ultimately responsible for the establishment of the Colony of Georgia.

(33). The (a) probably refers to Rom. 4, v. 7, which is at the foot of the page in the manuscript.

(33[a]). The quotation is from Clemens Alexandrinus Proteptius, 1, 4 (D).

(33[b]). This address to the Reader is set in italics in the original edition.

(34). A modus was a composition for or an exemption from the payment of ecclesiastical tithes.

(35). It is interesting to note that Bray's Libraries are classified by subject, as follows: Church History 6 works, General History 4 works, Geography and Travels 11 works, Theology 36 works, Latin Classics 4 works, Medicine 1 work, and Gardening 1 work; 63 works in all, comprising some 75 volumes.

(36). Harvard College. Dr. Bray's toleration of the Congregationalists is noticeable.

In 1714, "a very valuable and considerable library of choice books" was sent from England to the struggling Collegiate School of Connecticut, now Yale University, through the "bountiful and liberal donation of divers well spirited gentlemen in Britain procured by Mr. Jeremiah Demmer," agent for the Colony of Connecticut. In the list of books thus sent are several from Dr. Bray. The list is as follows: "A Large English Bible

folio, All Dr. More's Theological Works folio, Dr. Bray's Martyrology folio, His Catechetical Lectures, His Bibliotheca Parochialis, octavo." Copies of the last two are still in the library of the University and are doubtless the identical ones presented by the author. This token of generosity by so staunch an Anglican to the Puritan seminary of learning is quite noteworthy. The Yale Library also possesses a copy of the 1700 edition of "Apostolick Charity," marked "The Author's Gift to the Collegiate School, Anno Dom., 1712."

(37). Sir Francis Nicholson was born in England in 1650 and died there in 1728. He was appointed lieutenant governor under Andros in 1686 and resided at New York as the representative of his superior, until his deposition in 1689. Jacob Leisler headed a revolt and took possession of New York, while Nicholson abandoned his post and sailed for England. In 1690, he was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia and, while holding this position, was largely responsible for the change of the capital to Williamsburgh. Together with Blair, he was instrumental in founding William and Mary College. In 1694, he was transferred to the governorship of Maryland, where his zeal for education was shown by his efforts which resulted in the founding of King William's School at Annapolis. In 1698, he was reappointed Governor of Virginia, where he continued until 1705. His administration was filled with quarrels and bickerings with prominent Virginians, but his energy was shown in the capture of the pirates. Returning to England, he came again to North America in 1709, in command of an unsuccessful expedition against Canada. In the following year, he was successful in taking Port Royal and Acadia, but failed in a further attack on Canada in 1711. From 1713 to 1720, he was Governor of Acadia and from that time until death, Governor of South Carolina, though he seems not to have been in the Colony after 1725.

(38). William and Mary College was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1692.

(38[a]). Antego now known as Antigua.

(38[b]). Mevis now known as Nevis.

(39). The Discourse of the Trade of England. Part II, p. 265. I have not identified this work. It may be Mun's Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies, North's Discourses upon Trade or Child's New Discourse of Trade.

(40). Mr. N. S. and Mr. T. P. have not been identified. Mr. Jones is doubtless Evan Jones, the printer.

(40[a]). The Rt. Rev. William Beveridge (1637–1708), Bishop of St. Asaph, was a very learned divine of the church of England.

(41). Rev. Mr. C——h is Rev. Joseph Colebatch. The name is filled out in the first edition.

(42). The pagination of this pamphlet is most irregular.

(43). The archbishop of Canterbury to whom the tract was dedicated was Thomas Tenison.

(44). The Keithites were followers of George Keith, who was born in Scotland about 1639 and died in England in 1716. He early became a Quaker and emigrated to Philadelphia in 1689. He soon fell out with the leading men of the Province on doctrinal points and formed with his adherents, who called themselves "Christian Quakers," a new Yearly Meeting. In 1695, he returned to England and five years later conformed to the Anglican Church and was ordained to its ministry. From 1702 to 1704 he travelled through the Provinces as one of the first missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was a noted controversial writer.

(45). Rev. James Blair, born in Scotland in 1656 and died in Williamsburg, Va., in 1743. He was sent as a missionary of the Anglican Church to Virginia in 1685, and was appointed Commissary in 1689. He was warmly interested in the founding of William and Mary College, whose president he was for many years.

(45[a]). This paragraph has been somewhat modified as to phraseology in the other edition.

(46). The remainder of the tract has been entirely reset in the second of the two editions contained in the John Carter Brown Library. The second edition was printed by John Brudenell, 1701.

(47). The variant edition reads here (which I desire may be as speedily as possible). Mr. G. P. Winship, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, writes of the two editions: "I think it pretty nearly certain that the edition copied was the earlier. There are a few changes in spelling, &c., which point to the other as a later resetting of the type of the last three pages."

(48). This is Sabin's 7481, and is reprinted from a copy of the printed folio sheet in the Library of Sion College. The copy for this publication was made by Mr. Henry F. Thompson through the courtesy of the College authorities. The conclusion of the first edition of the Bibliotheca Parochialis is worked over into this tract. The school referred to is King William's School, founded in 1696, under the act of that year, chapter 31, and now absorbed in St. John's College.

(49). This is copied by Mr. Henry F. Thompson from the printed copy (folio 3 sheets) in the Sion College Library (Sabin, 7478). Written on the third page is: "Publish'd 1701, a little before the Memorial."

(50). This is not in Sabin, but is a printed folio of four pages in the Sion College Library, where it was copied by Mr. Henry F. Thompson.

(51). Sir Lionel Copley came to Maryland in 1692, as the first royal Governor, and died in September, 1693. He is buried at St. Mary's City.

(52). See reprint of Wyeth's tract in the appendix to this publication.

(53). Bishop Wilkins was John Wilkins, warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and later bishop of Chester, born 1614, died 1672. He was a well known writer and student of science.

(54). Johann Crellius, born 1590, died 1633, was a German Unitarian divine and controversialist.

(55–50[a]). The reference of course is to William and Mary.

(56). See the Essay towards the promoting of knowledge.

(57). The introduction and proposals from the Bibliotheca Parochialis are printed as they are of considerable interest and are frequently referred to in the tracts here reprinted. The body of the work, containing annotated lists of books, was not deemed sufficiently useful for reprinting. The last paragraph of the 5th page of *The Epistle Dedicatory* is of considerable interest, reading as follows:

"*But God be prais'd, as Lukewarm in Religion as this worst of Ages is, I must not forbear to acknowledge it to the Honour of some, that they have already shew'd themselves to be of a contrary Spirit by their Liberal Benefactions to our present Design, by whose means we have been able to lay a good Foundation to our Parochial Libraries, and to send some over already into* MARYLAND."

(59). This quotation is from the famous toleration act, passed by the General Assembly of the Province in April, 1649, but confirmed by the Lord Proprietary August 26, 1650.

(60). The law was repealed in 1654, during the Puritan supremacy, but was revived in 1658, and included in the revision of 1676. An order of 1659, imposing penalty on the Quakers seems to have been little complied with.

(61). Reference is here made to Sir Henry Spelman's "Councils, Decrees, Laws and Constitutions of the English Church," the first volume of which appeared in 1639. The reference to this and to Bede's History show the extent of Wyeth's reading.

(62). Austine is the St. Augustine who came to England in 597 A. D., and was effectual in converting the Kentishmen. St. Augustine, the bishop of Hippo, is referred to on page 226.

(63). I find no trace of this work. John Meursius was a noted Dutch scholar, born in 1579 and dying in 1639. He was professor of Greek and History in the University of Leyden, and later was historiographer for the King of Denmark. His writings were chiefly on the History of Ancient Greece.

(64). Hierom, the reference is to St. Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate (born about 345, and died 420, A. D.), whose Latin name is Hieronymus.

(65). Daile's "Use of the Fathers," through which Wyeth seems to have studied the fathers of the church, was a French Huguenot clergyman (born 1594, and died 1670), named Jean Daillé, whose "Treatise," concerning the right use of the fathers in matters of controversy, was translated into English, and published in 1651;—a second edition appeared in 1675. Bishop Warburton said the work was one "of uncommon learning and strength of argument, which brought the fathers from the bench to the table; and which may be truly said to be the storehouse from whence all who have written popularly on the character of the fathers have derived their materials."

(66). Origen (born 185, died 254, A. D.) was a most learned Alexandrian church father and the author of Homilies and many other treatises, most of which have been lost. Didymus (born 311, died 396, A. D.) was another Alexandrian theologian, author of Commentaries on the Gospels and controversial writings against the Arians. Appolinaris, bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia, lived in the second century of our era. He wrote treatises against heretics and an apology for Christianity, which he sent to the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius. Theodorus, a Greek prelate, who died about 355, A. D., was a very learned Arian, who wrote Commentaries on the Gospels, which are now lost. Heraclas, patriarch of Alexandria, died 246, A. D. He was director of the theological school of Alexandria. Alexander the heretic, possibly this is Alexander of Aphrodisias, the celebrated Greek commentator on Aristotle who lived in the second century after Christ. Eusebius Emissenus was a pupil of the famous Eusebius of Caesarea. He was born at Edessa and died at Antioch about 360 A. D. Homilies attributed to him were published in Paris in 1575.

(67). G. K. are the initials of George Keith.

(68). This manuscript in an unknown hand is in the Sion College Library, where Mr. Henry F. Thompson copied.

(69). This line, in a different handwriting, is interlined in the original.

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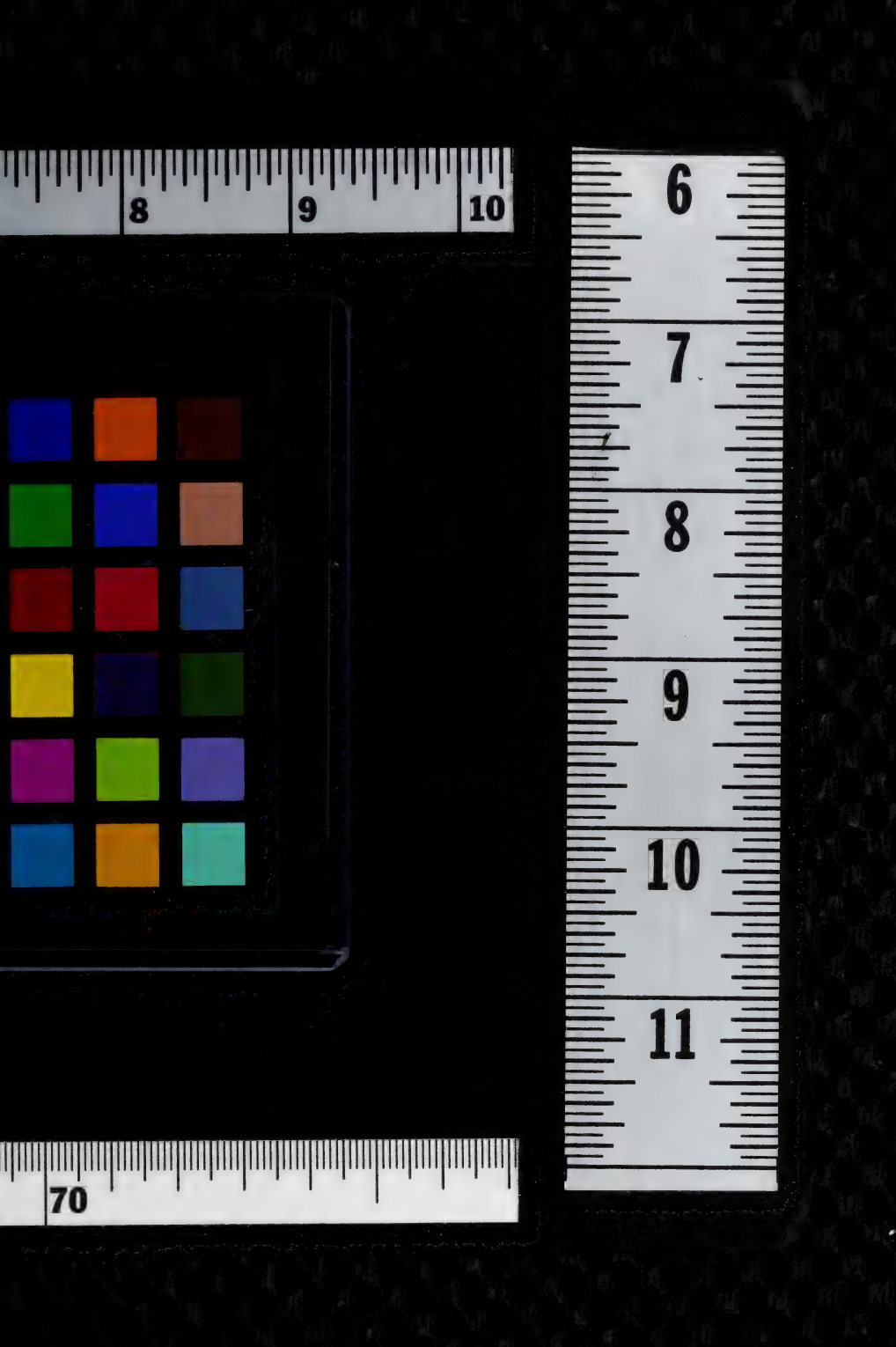

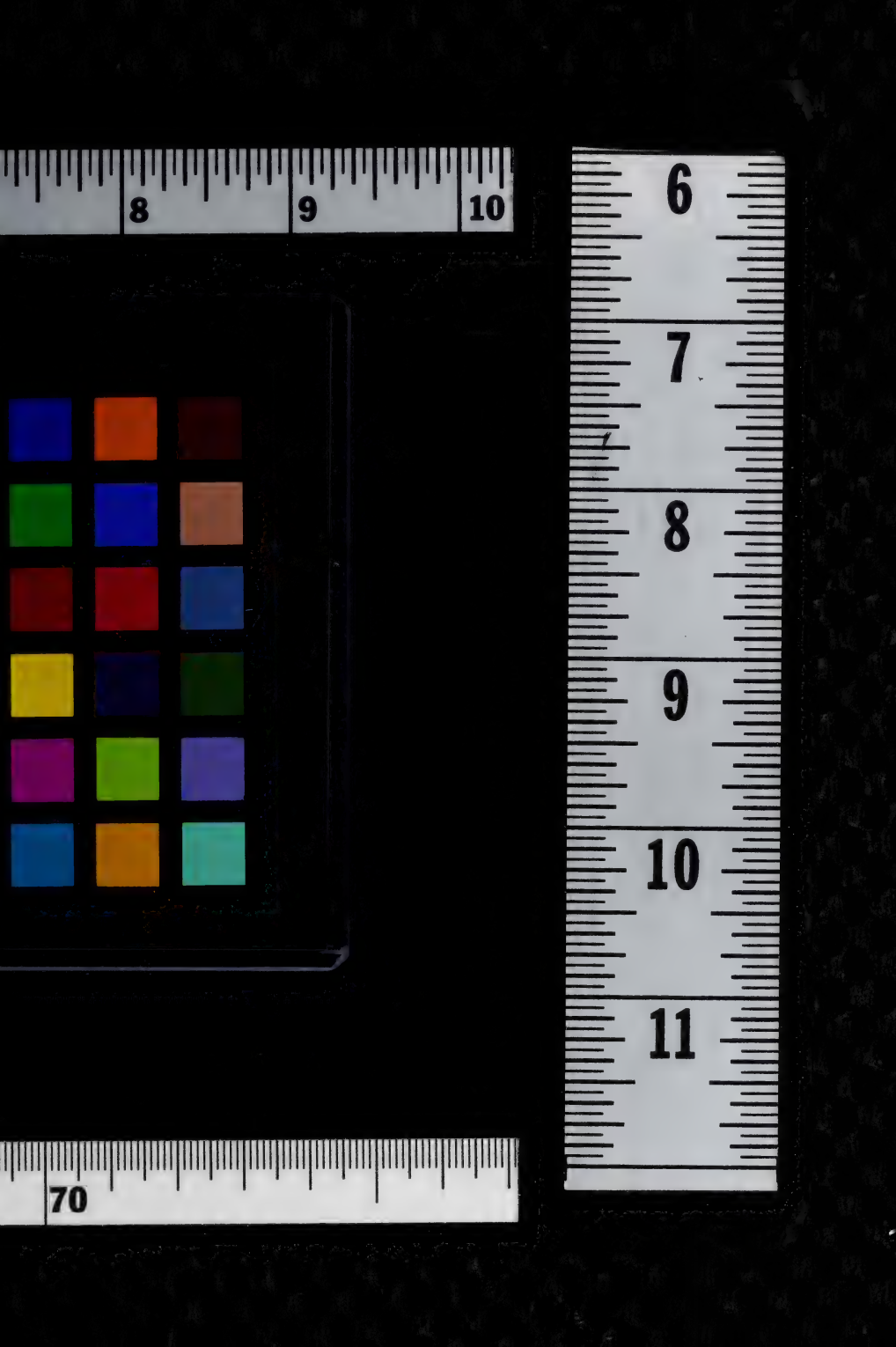
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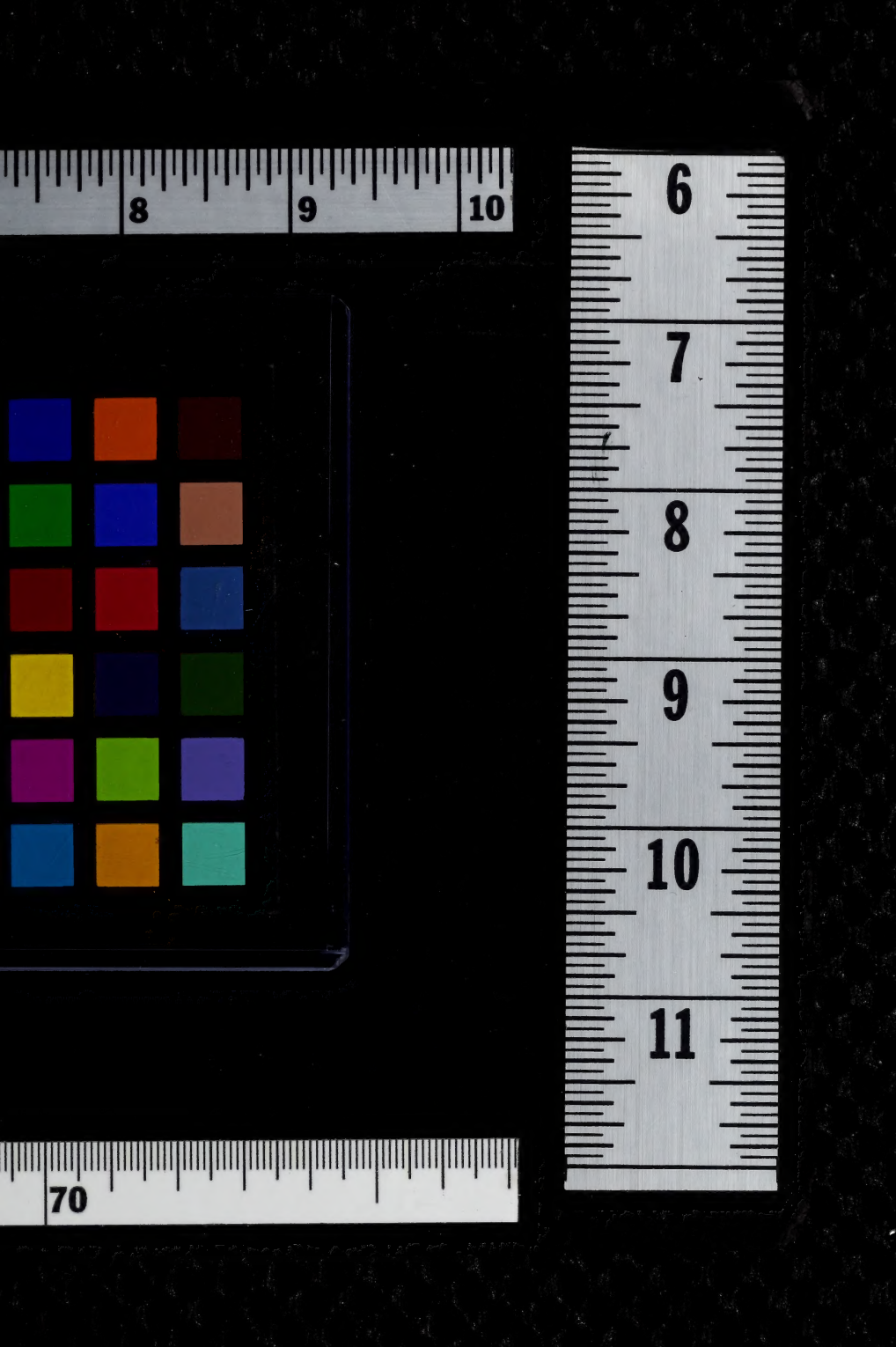
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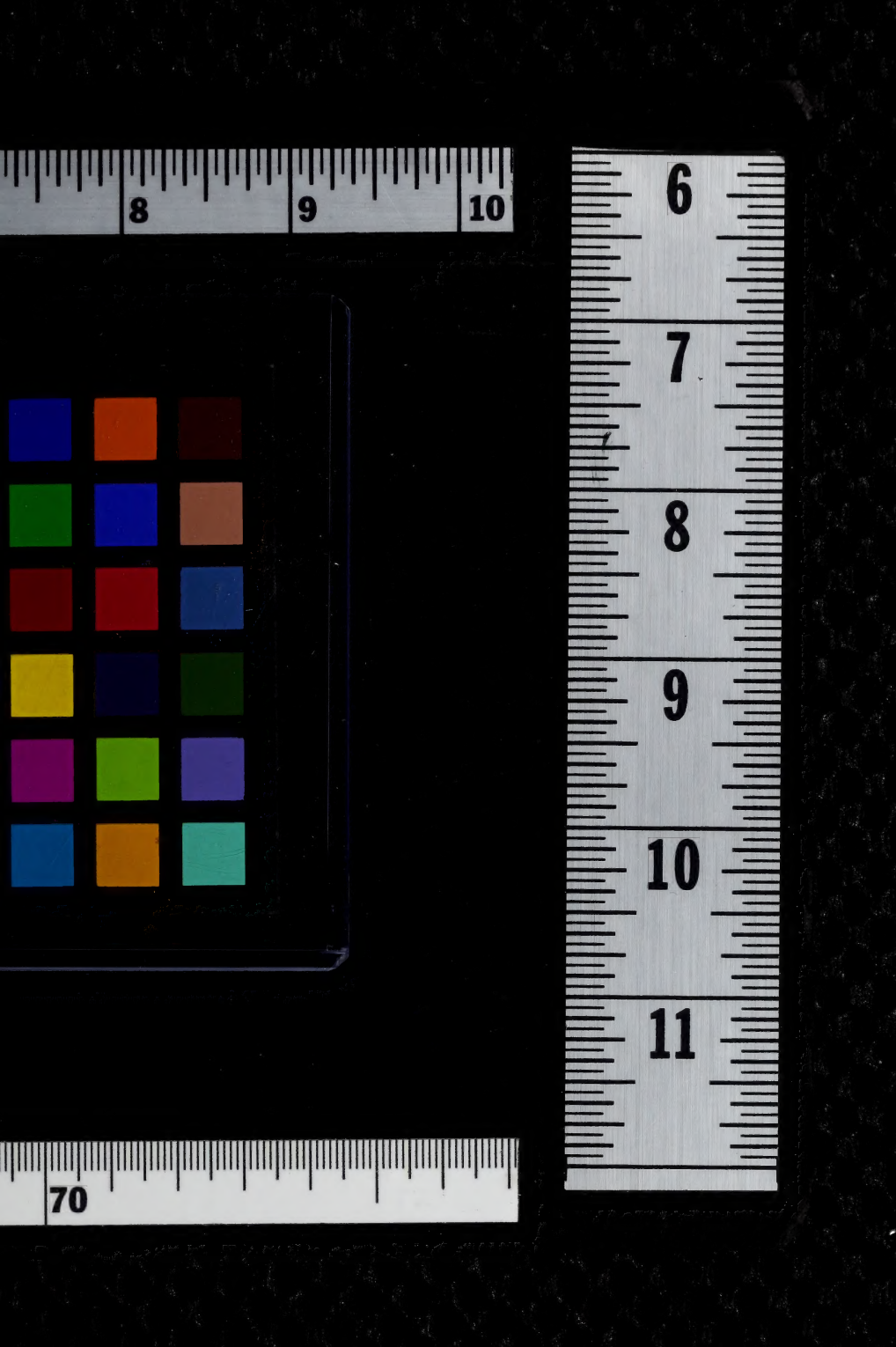
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